WILLIAM MAVOR L.L.D.

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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,

TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,

FROM THE

TIME OF COLUMBUS

TO THE

PRESENT PERIOD.

"Non apis inde tulit *collectos* sedula *flores*." *Ovid.*

By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

VOL. I.

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BRITISH
MUSEUM

DEDICATION.

TO THE KING.

SIRE,

IT is the peculiar glory of YOUR MAJESTY'S reign, that it has enlarged the bounds of ſcience, increaſed the accommodations and comforts of life, and extended the reſearches of knowledge, as far as the daring ſpirit of diſcovery can penetrate, or man exiſt.

Under YOUR MAJESTY'S auſpices, we have ſeen ſeas explored and lands laid open, where Europeans had never ven-

tured before. We have ſeen too, that diſcovery has been made ſubſervient to the moſt valuable purpoſes of human life, by a reciprocal exchange of the bleſſings of different climates. The fruits, roots, and animals of our own country have been tranſplanted with ſucceſs into the iſlands of the remoteſt eaſt; and that rich production, the bread-fruit-tree, will ſoon, we truſt, ſolace the natives of the extremeſt weſt.

While thoſe important ends were more immediately in view, inferior objects have not been neglected. From the labours and obſervations of navigators, the extenſion of ſcientific knowledge has been blended with the moſt intereſting amuſe-

amuſement; and the ſolitary ſtudent, the commercial adventurer, and indeed every claſs and deſcription of men, can attend a BYRON, a WALLIS, a COOK, a MULGRAVE, or a BLIGH through thoſe voyages which YOUR MAJESTY'S wiſdom planned; and reap the benefit of the acquiſition, or enjoy the pleaſure of the narrative, without the danger and the toil.

To whom then can a NEW COLLECTION of VOYAGES and TRAVELS with more propriety be dedicated than to YOUR MAJESTY? From you, SIRE, the moſt important of them originated. At once diſtinguiſhed as the patron and judge of whatever adds elegance to

life, or ſolidity to amuſement; of whatever expands the wing of ſcience, or humanizes the heart, thoſe works, whoſe profeſſed intention is to promote ſuch important objects, have ſome claims to YOUR MAJESTY'S protection. On this baſis I reſt my hope, that the preſent attempt will not be diſregarded.

Long may YOUR MAJESTY'S virtues illumine the world, and late receive their well-earned reward in another, is the fervent prayer of, SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

MOST DEVOTED

SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

London, October 18, 1796.

WILLIAM MAVOR.

PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

IN the early ages of the world, the migrations of mankind were few. Their wants being circumſcribed by their ignorance of luxuries, they generally paſſed a kind of vegetative life on the ſpot where they were born. Their views extended no farther than to the procuring ſimple neceſſaries; and few countries, where men have fixed their reſidence, are ſo ſteril and inhoſpitable as not to ſupply thoſe.

The admirers of uncultivated or ſavage life recur with pleaſure to thoſe days when hunting was the chief amuſement; milk and herbs the principal ſupport of man; and nature the guide and the modeller of his paſſions. By degrees, however, ambition crept in to diſturb his repoſe: he longed to enjoy a more fertile ſpot, which his neighbour occupied; to poſſeſs more numerous flocks and herds; and to lodge in more artificial and commodious dwellings. Ambition paved the way to commerce; and commerce ended in civilization and refinement. By theſe, the wants of mankind were multiplied, and the mind gained a new ſtimulus from the deſire of ſupplying them. Hence arts are

encouraged, diligence rewarded, and every faculty of the ſoul, rouſed from the torpor of inaction, ſtarts into life and motion.

Such were the progreſſive ſteps by which the human kind advanced from ſimplicity to artificial exiſtence. And if the former has its admirers, it cannot be denied but that the latter has given riſe to all the energies which exalt the man above the brute and confer on him an unequivocal claim to pre-eminence in the ſcale of being.

We will not deny but that commerce occaſions as many wants as it relieves; and that, if indolence is bliſs, we ſhould have been happier without it. But man was not deſtined for inactivity; and when his labours are directed to a proper point, they either afford individual profit or pleaſure: either benefit himſelf or the community.

The nobleſt principles of the ſoul lay dormant, till adſcititious wants called them into action. Who could ſhew generoſity, when none ſtood in need of aſſiſtance? who could diſplay the virtues of charity and humanity, when all were on a level in property and enjoyments? By extending the bounds of knowledge and of induſtry, we have increaſed the empire of happineſs; he who makes us acquainted with what we knew not before, is ſurely a benefactor to his kind; and he who ſupplies a want which another feels, though intereſt may direct his diligence, will always be eſtimable in the ſcale of poliſhed ſociety.

From

From this ſhort deduction, which we conſider as explanatory of the principles from which the ſubjects of our intended labours originated, it will evidently appear, that though curioſity may have actuated ſome minds, yet the deſire of gain and the proſecution of commerce were the principal cauſes of the emigrations of men, and of their advances in refinement.

In proportion as theſe have had an influence on human conduct, new countries have been explored; and the whole race of men has been united by a tie, leſs pure, indeed, than the ſocial, but no leſs permanent in its operations and effects.

But various cauſes conſpired to prohibit the free intercourſe of nations in early ages; and hence, general civilization was late in taking place. Before the diſcovery of the magnetic needle, a few coaſting voyages limited the purſuits of the moſt active and the moſt inquiſitive; and travellers were equally rare.

After this noble invention, by degrees, the thirſt of gold or the love of novelty prompted enterpriſing ſpirits to extend their intercourſe. Every attempt brought new acceſſions of pleaſure or profit. A Columbus diſcovered a new world, and De Gama laid open the treaſures of the eaſt, with more facility than the produce of a ſingle kingdom can be conveyed from one extremity to the other.

Since that period, Europe at leaſt, has been rapidly advancing in all the arts that embelliſh and dignify life; and the reſearches and narratives of the adventurous voyager and the curious

traveller

traveller have frequently amuſed the indolent, or inſtructed the inquiſitive.

Man, indeed, as a citizen of the world, feels a natural intereſt in all that concerns his fellow men. The rudeſt traits of feature or of character, in diſtant nations, ſerve to excite him, by ſingularity; or to ſolace him, by compariſon. He enters into the views of thoſe who have ſtrove to entertain or inſtruct him, with a reliſh proportioned to the dangers they have encountered, or the diligence and reſolution they have diſplayed; and hence, of all ſtudies, not abſolutely neceſſary to his well-being, in a ſtate of poliſhed ſociety, none are more cheriſhed than thoſe which combine novelty with information, through the medium of Voyages and Travels.

Of theſe, our own country has produced a luxuriant and valuable crop; but whatever merit particular works of this kind may have, there is no general collection that is not become obſolete by time, or imperfect by ſubſequent diſcoveries. The early accounts tranſmitted to us are, perhaps, leſs chargeable with intentional fallacy than unavoidable ignorance. When ſcience was at a low ebb in general, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the intereſted adventurer, or even the diligent enquirer, was always able to diſcriminate with exactneſs, or to record with fidelity. Much, therefore, that has been accumulated by former aſſiduity, will be deſervedly rejected by modern taſte and learning. It is only repeated touches that can produce

produce any thing like perfection; and though ſome of our predeceſſors have done all that circumſtances would allow, ſubſequent examination and diſcovery have proved, that much ſtill remains to be done, to gratify the judicious, and to pleaſe the curious.

PURCHASE's Pilgrims, of antiquated date, were ſuperſeded by CHURCHILL's Collections. HARRIS's might be conſidered as a rival publication of the latter. ASTLEY's Voyages and Travels followed. Theſe are the grand works, on this ſubject, in our language, which can be named in a collective and reſpectable light; and the laſt of them was publiſhed upwards of half a century ago. Since that period, ſingle Voyages and Travels have been multiplied to an amazing degree; and as the laſt enquirer has always the beſt chance of obtaining excellence, and of courſe has uſed all the new lights and diſcoveries; whatever relates to manners, to ſoil, to climate, to produce, to natural or artificial curioſities, are moſt advantageouſly viewed through the medium of recent publications.

But the expence attending the purchaſe of a complete collection of ſcattered works on the ſubject of voyages and travels; the time they would conſume to read them all; and the little intereſt that general readers can take in particular parts, interlarded as they are with ſtale geographical deſcriptions and unſcientific remarks, ſuggeſted the propriety and utility of ſuch a ſelection as might ſatisfy without fatiguing,

fatiguing, and convey the moſt requiſite information at a price too limited to be regarded.

To accompliſh this, we have thought proper to give a hiſtorical account of the moſt celebrated and intereſting voyages, travels, diſcoveries, and ſhipwrecks, diveſted, as far as poſſible, of technical phraſes and cumbrous minutiæ. Our plan is, to concentrate the wide range of publications on this ſubject into a narrow compaſs, and to deliver them in uniform diction and connected narrative; to preſerve every circumſtance that can amuſe or inſtruct, to entertain the fancy, and to humanize the heart. Character and incident are the principal traits we wiſh to ſeize; and by apt reflections, to make man the friend of man, is our leading aim. To this end, our labours have been invariably directed, whatever may be our ſucceſs; and though of this we do not deſpair, we are animated by higher views and more honourable motives, than thoſe which can ariſe from a wiſh to gratify vicious taſte, or conciliate worthleſs favour, at the expence of the approbation of the wiſe and the good, and the dictates of conſcience and duty.

We confeſs we have written with an eye to youthful innocence and female delicacy. Our pages, therefore, we truſt will not offend, ſhould they fail to pleaſe. To deſerve praiſe, may require the efforts of ſuperior genius or application; but to avoid juſt blame, is ſurely in an author's own power.

To

To the public, we owe this brief and candid explanation of our ſentiments and intentions: we are ambitious of its patronage, and have ſtudied to deſerve it.

The engravings which at once embelliſh and illuſtrate this work, will, in point of execution, be found ſuperior to any that have hitherto been offered in ſimilar publications. In a word, no expence has been ſpared to render this new Collection of Voyages and Travels worthy a place in the pocket, the parlour, or the library, and to gain it admiſſion into ſchools and ſeminaries for either ſex.

CON-

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

FIRST Voyage of Columbus, - - Page 1
Second Voyage of Columbus, - - 31
Third Voyage of Columbus, - - 53
Fourth and laſt Voyage of Columbus, - - 65
Biographical Notices of the Cabots, and their Diſcoveries, - - - 97
Biographical Notices of Americus Veſputius, and his Diſcoveries, - - - 103
Diſcoveries of the Spaniards, from the Death of Columbus, to the Expedition of Hernando Cortez, - - - - 107
Brief Account of the Conqueſt of Mexico, by Hernando Cortez, - - - 127
Brief Account of the Conqueſt of Peru, by Francis Pizarro, - - - - 145
General Character and Deſcription of the Aboriginal Americans, - - - 163
Firſt Voyage of Vaſquez de Gama, to the Eaſt Indies; with a preliminary Diſſertation on the antecedent Diſcoveries of the Portugueſe, - 185
Voyage of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, to the Eaſt Indies, - - - 227
Second Voyage of Vaſquez de Gama, to the Eaſt Indies, - - - - 255
General View of the Progreſs and the Decline of the Portugueſe Intereſt in the Eaſt Indies, - 267
The Voyage of Ferdinand Magellan, Round the World, - - - 275

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

FIRST VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

CONVINCED that it gratifies the beſt feelings of the human heart, to gain information reſpecting thoſe who have benefited mankind by diſcoveries, or enlightened them by knowledge, we mean, as far as poſſible, to give a ſhort biographical account of the voyagers and travellers, from whoſe labours we have ſelected the ſubject of our volumes.

The hiſtory of the illuſtrious name with which we commence our work, is ſo connected with his voyages and diſcoveries, that it is beſt delineated from them. Of the parentage and early education of Columbus, little is authentically known. He was born at Genoa in 1442; and will ever be one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours of that ſtate. His father, it is ſuppoſed, was a wool-comber, and that himſelf was at firſt deſtined for the ſame occupation. Be that as it may, it appears, that he ſtudied mathematics with aſſiduity and ſucceſs at the univerſity of Pavia; and this ſtudy, afterwards carried into action, by the practice of navigation, led him to form juſter notions of the

figure of the earth, than any of his contemporaries, and to extend the boundaries of knowledge and of the world.

The correct idea this great mind had conceived of the terraqueous globe, gave birth to his deſign; but the imperfection of all the maps then to be conſulted, made him miſtake the object. He propoſed to find a nearer paſſage to the Indies and China, by ſailing weſtward. Venice and Genoa, at that time, engroſſed almoſt the whole trade of Europe; and, in conſequence, a rivalry and jealouſy, which had given riſe to frequent wars, always exiſted between them. Venice, however, maintained her ſuperiority: ſhe had drawn to herſelf nearly the collected commerce of the Eaſt, which had been hitherto carried on by way of Egypt and the Red Sea.

As Columbus was a native of the rival ſtate, it is probable that a ſpirit of patriotiſm firſt animated his views of diſcovering a more direct paſſage to India; and, by that means, of transferring this lucrative trade to his own country. But timid caution, reinforced by incredulity, deprived Genoa of the advantages intended for her. Columbus having diſcharged the duty of a good citizen, by making in vain his firſt propoſal of proſecuting diſcoveries for the benefit of his country, felt himſelf free from the obligation which nature had impoſed on his ſervices. His next application was to the court of France, but with no better ſucceſs. Henry VII. then filled the throne of England; and to that prince Columbus diſpatched his brother Bartholomew on the ſame buſineſs. This ill-fated adventurer was taken and plundered by pirates on his paſſage, and, on his arrival in London, was reduced to ſuch extreme poverty, that

that he could not make a ſufficiently decent appearance to demand an audience of the king. But perſevering diligence ſeems to have been characteriſtic of this family. Bartholomew, by drawing and ſelling maps and charts, ſoon acquired ſome reputation; and having equipped himſelf in a proper ſtyle for gaining acceſs to the Engliſh ſovereign, obtained this honour in 1488; and met with ſuch encouragement, that he actually entered into an agreement with Henry on behalf of his brother, ſeveral years before Chriſtopher had finally ſecured a patron. It is well known, however, that this country loſt the honour that was put within its graſp.

While Bartholomew was ſoliciting the Engliſh court, the great projector, his brother, had made a perſonal application to the government of Portugal, where he experienced nothing but ridicule and contempt.

In ſuperior minds there is a firmneſs that riſes above ordinary diſappointments, and in all projectors there is an enthuſiaſm, abſolutely neceſſary to give efficacy to their ſchemes. Columbus was not to be depreſſed. He now repaired to Caſtile, and offered his ſervices to Ferdinand and Iſabella. For eight years he ſubmitted to delays, to inſults, and to the preſumption of ignorance, till his patience was at laſt exhauſted; and he had actually taken leave of Caſtile, in order to proceed to England in queſt of his brother, with whoſe fortune he was totally unacquainted. He was, however, unexpectedly recalled by the queen, Iſabella, at the earneſt importunity of her confeſſor; and her majeſty was now prevailed on to accede to the demands of Columbus, and to furniſh him with money for his expedition.

The patient projector was raiſed to the rank of admiral; and it was ſtipulated that all civil employments, in the iſlands and continent to be diſcovered, ſhould be wholly at his diſpoſal; that he ſhould nominate judges in Spain for India affairs; and over and above the ſalaries and perquiſites of admiral, viceroy, and governor, he ſhould have a certain ſhare in the profits of the foreign trade and the domeſtic imports from his diſcoveries.

Theſe preliminaries being adjuſted, he repaired to Palos, to ſuperintend the equipment of the little fleet entruſted to his command. This conſiſted of three ſmall veſſels, the Santa Maria, carrying the admiral's flag; the La Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon; and the La Nina, Captain Vincent Yanez Pinzon, the brother of the former, both natives of Palos.

The fleet being furniſhed with proviſions and neceſſaries, and manned with ninety men, ſet ſail on Saturday the 3d of Auguſt, 1492; and, humble as the ſtrength and equipment of this ſquadron would appear in modern times, it has led to more important events than any expedition ever undertaken by man, and was pregnant with the fate of both worlds. Next morning the rudder of the La Pinta broke looſe, which diſaſter was ſuppoſed to have ariſen from ſome who were averſe to the voyage; but Pinzon, the captain, being an able ſeaman, ſoon repaired the damage, and they proceeded on their voyage till Tueſday, when the rudder again gave way, and forced the admiral a ſecond time to lie by. This accident, the ſuperſtitious and the fearful interpreted as an ill-omen; but Columbus rightly obſerved, that no omen could be evil where men were engaged in a good deſign. With ſome difficulty, they ſteered

ſteered the diſabled ſhip as far as the Canaries, which they diſcovered early on Thurſday morning.

Here the admiral refitted and improved his fleet; and having laid in proviſions, wood, and water, ſet ſail from Gomera on the 6th of September, ſtanding to the weſtward with a light wind. In three days they loſt ſight of Ferro, the remoteſt known land; and apprehenſion drew tears from numbers, when they reflected that they might ſee it no more. To cheer this dejection, Columbus ſet before his crews the ſure proſpects of wealth and proſperity; by his own conduct animated the deſponding into new vigour; and by a harmleſs artifice, which their general ignorance could not detect, diſguiſed the progreſs they daily made, that they might not think themſelves ſo far from their native land, as they really were.

But time was not to be diſguiſed. On the 12th of September, being then one hundred and fifty leagues weſt of Ferro, the admiral diſcovered the body of a large tree, which from appearances had long been floating on the waves. Here he perceived a current ſetting ſtrongly to the north-eaſt; and having advanced fifty leagues farther, for the firſt time, was ſenſible of the variation of the magnetic needle, which increaſing with his progreſs, confounded and aſtoniſhed him ſtill more.

On the 14th, the crew of the La Nina had been agreeably ſurpriſed at the ſight of a heron and a tropic bird; and next day they ſaw the ſea in a manner covered with green and yellow weeds, among which they diſcovered a live lobſter, which made them reaſonably conclude they were in the vicinity of land.

Four days after, the captain of the La Pinta being a-head, lay to for the admiral, and inform-

ed him, that he had ſeen a great number of birds flying to the weſtward, ſo that he ſoon expected they ſhould deſcry the land, which even then he fancied was viſible. But the admiral being convinced it was an illuſion, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of his people, was determined not to alter his courſe. Next day, however, obſerving a number of ſea-gulls, which he conjectured could not take very diſtant flights, he began himſelf to entertain hopes of approaching the land; but could find no ſoundings. Three days after, they caught an aquatic fowl, ſaw abundance of ſea weeds, and were viſited by three ſinging birds. Next day they obſerved a tropic bird; and fell in with ſuch a quantity of weeds, as rendered them apprehenſive their courſe might be impeded.

Theſe minute circumſtances, in any other voyage, would be unworthy of remark; but when we conſider the daring ſpirit that conducted this, and the important conſequences it involved, every thing that developes its progreſs will continue to intereſt, while the world laſts.

The wind having hitherto been right aſtern, the mariners were under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of its conſtantly keeping in the ſame direction, which would have prevented their return; but about this period, it ſhifted to the ſouth-weſt, which, though contrary, gave the admiral great ſatisfaction, as it afforded him an opportunity of allaying his people's fears. Yet in ſpite of argument and remonſtrance, the murmurs of diſcontent became more loud; and a mutiny would moſt probably have enſued, had not the wind again ſhifted, and the hopes of nearing land again been revived, from the ſight of a pigeon, and the flight of ſeveral ſmall birds from the weſt.

But

But the mortification from diſappointment roſe in proportion to the frequency that the ſailors had been elated by promiſing ſigns. They now not only loudly exclaimed againſt their commander, for expoſing them to unavailing dangers from deluſive theories, or ſelf-intereſted motives; but they affirmed, that they had already ſufficiently evinced their own courage and perſeverance, and began to talk of compelling Columbus to return. It was even propoſed to throw him overboard, and to pretend, on their return, that he caſually fell into the ocean, while intent on making obſervations.

The admiral was not ignorant of this mutinous diſpoſition; and he exerted uncommon addreſs in keeping it from breaking out into acts of violence. He alternately urged the claims of duty, and the legal authority with which he was inveſted, which he was determined not to relinquiſh but with life. He ſometimes reproached them for their impatience and puſillanimity; then demonſtrated the weakneſs of their fears, ſoothed their anxiety, and painted hope in ſuch colours, as to diſtract their reſolution, and diſarm their rage.

It was not till the 25th of September, about ſunſet, that his diſtreſſing proſpect began in the leaſt to brighten. At that moment Pinzon, being ahead of the admiral, on a ſudden called out "Land, Land!" and pointed to the ſouth-weſt, where they perceived ſomething like an iſland, at the utmoſt extent of viſion. This appearance was ſo grateful to the men, that they returned thanks to God with the moſt fervent devotion; and though the more correct judgment of Columbus taught him to expect a fallacy, in compliance with their clamorous demand, he ſtood towards the ſuppoſed iſland the greateſt part of the night;

but

but in the morning, they ſaw it vaniſh into air, and deſpondency and diſaffection returned. The ſteady intrepidity of the admiral ſtill enabled him to perſevere. In three days more, the currents became irregular; and gulls and flying fiſh ſurrounded the ſhips in abundance.

The appearance of birds at intervals, during this hazardous voyage, was a circumſtance peculiarly fortunate, as it kept hope alive, or revived it when almoſt extinct. On the 3d of October, having again loſt ſight of thoſe welcome viſitors, the mariners conjectured they had paſſed between ſome iſlands, and earneſtly entreated the admiral to direct his courſe to one ſide or the other, in queſt of the land which they imagined had been left. Being unwilling to loſe the favourable breeze that carried him to the weſtward, or to leſſen the reputation of his undertaking by a dereliction of his object on the ſuggeſtions, or by the menaces of others, he abſolutely refuſed to comply. This fortitude, inſtead of inſpiring confidence, as it ought, obtained the appellation of obſtinacy and madneſs; and the ſailors were actually on the point of taking ſome deſperate reſolution, when a flight of ſparrows and other birds from the weſt once more allayed their impetuoſity.

Some imperfect ſigns of land appeared on the 7th of October; but diſappointment had ſo often ſucceeded to expectation, that no one would venture to pronounce it, though a penſion of thirty crowns for life had been promiſed to him who ſhould firſt deſcry land. The Nina, however, being the beſt ſailer, and conſequently ahead, fired a gun, and hoiſted her colours in token of this agreeable diſcovery; but the farther they advanced, the more they were convinced of the deception.

tion. Next day, large flights of ſea-fowl and ſmall-land birds conſoled them for the diſappointment; and Columbus being fully perſuaded, that the latter could not take very diſtant excurſions, in imitation of the Portugueſe who had diſcovered many iſlands by following the direction of ſuch birds, altered his courſe, and ſtood to the ſouth-weſt, after having run ſeven hundred and fifty leagues to the weſtward of the Canaries.

Notwithſtanding his adoption of a plan ſo frequently attended with ſucceſs, the continued viſits of different kinds of birds, and a ſenſible change in the air which became impregnated with fragrance, the animoſity of the crew was now raiſed to the higheſt pitch, and a ſtorm was ready to burſt on the commander, which would have overwhelmed them all in ruin.

The event of the 11th, however, ſerved to convince the moſt obſtinate and incredulous, that land could not be diſtant. On this day the admiral diſcovered a green ruſh and a large rock fiſh; and the crew of the Pinta took up a ſtaff curiouſly wrought, together with a ſmall board, and obſerved abundance of weeds newly waſhed from their native banks. The people of the Nina too, had the pleaſure to perceive a thorn branch loaded with red berries.

Being now aſſured of the vicinity of land, the admiral harangued his men at night, reminded them of the goodneſs of the Almighty in granting them favourable weather, and exhorted them to be vigilant, as he expected to ſee land next day; and, in addition to the penſion we have named, promiſed a velvet doublet to diſtinguiſh the firſt diſcoverer. He had ſcarcely retired to his cabin before he perceived, what ſeemed to be a light on ſhore;

ſhore; and this being pointed out to, and obſerved by one of the mariners, gave new alacrity to their exertions, and increaſed their cautious circumſpection. About two in the morning, the Pinta gave the ſignal of land, which was diſcovered by a ſailor, at the diſtance of two leagues. The penſion, however, was decreed to the admiral, who had previouſly diſcovered the light. The ſhips now lay to; and never was anxiety more ardent than that which filled up the period till morning. A new world was now about to ſalute their eyes; and frigid muſt that ſoul be, who reads this narrative, and cannot enter into the feelings of Columbus, and participate in the joys of his men.

The dawn approached: and diſappointment was no more. They perceived an iſland about fifteen leagues in length, champaign and woody, ſupplied with delicious ſtreams, with a large lake in the middle. The inhabitants were numerous, and ſuppoſing the ſhips to be living creatures, ran down with aſtoniſhment to the ſhore. Meanwhile the Spaniards were inflamed with an irreſiſtible curioſity to aſcertain the circumſtances of this intereſting diſcovery. The veſſels were ſpeedily brought to anchor; the admiral landed in his boat, well armed, with the royal ſtandard diſplayed. His two captains proceeded alſo in their reſpective boats, with the diſtinguiſhing enſigns of this grand enterprize.

Having reached the land, they knelt down, thanked God, and kiſſed the earth with tears of joy. The admiral now ſtanding up, named the iſland St. Salvador, now Cat-Iſland *, and took poſſeſſion of it with the uſual ſolemnities for their

* One of the Bahamas.

Catholic

Catholic Majeſties. The Spaniards now recognized him as admiral and viceroy; and to extenuate their affronts and inſults in the courſe of the voyage, implored his pardon, and ſwore a ready obedience to his commands.

A number of Indians witneſſed theſe tranſactions; and appearing to be a ſimple inoffenſive people, Columbus, to ingratiate himſelf with them, diſtributed ſome red caps, ſtrings of glaſs-beads, and other trifles, which they received with tranſport; and when he returned to his ſhip, they followed him in canoes with parrots, ſpun cotton, javelins, and other productions of the country, which they bartered for European toys. The natives were of an olive complexion, middle ſtature, and well-formed. Their hair was black, lank, and thick, generally cropt above the ears, though ſome had it done up like the treſſes of women. Their countenances were open; and except that their foreheads were too prominent, their features might be eſteemed regular. Some of them were painted black, white, and red; but males as well as females appeared in the ſimpleſt guiſe of nature. Being perfectly unacquainted with the properties of iron, they handled the edge of a naked ſword, unconſcious of its power of harm. They had marks, however, of war, that peſt of civilized as well as ſavage life; and being interrogated by ſigns how they came by their ſcars, they anſwered in the ſame manner, that they had received them in their own defence, when repelling the aggreſſions of the inhabitants of other iſlands that wiſhed to enſlave them.

Next morning, a great number of Indians came aboard in their canoes. Theſe are formed by excavating the trunk of a tree, and are rowed with

with paddles. Some were very ſmall; others were capable of containing forty perſons.

The Indians wore neither jewels nor any kind of metal, except ſmall plates of gold ſuſpended from their noſtrils, which precious metal, as they ſignified by ſigns, came from the ſouth and ſouth-weſt, where there were great and populous countries.

Every article of European produce or manufacture, however inſignificant, was graſped at with avidity; and ſome of them were happy to exchange a quantity of well-ſpun cotton, weighing twenty-five pounds, for three ſmall pieces of braſs coin not worth a farthing. They did not indeed ſeem impreſſed with a belief, that theſe articles were valuable in themſelves; but novelty gave them a charm; and they innocently and ignorantly wiſhed to poſſeſs ſome memorial of a race deſcended from heaven, as they eſteemed the whites.

The admiral, leaving the place where he firſt landed, coaſted along the iſland in his boat to the north-weſt, attended by an immenſe concourſe on ſhore, who expreſſed their wonder and felicitation by a variety of geſtures. He diſcovered a moſt capacious bay or harbour; reached a peninſula; and ſaw ſeveral houſes and plantations, pleaſant as thoſe of Spain in the moſt genial ſeaſon of the year. Finding, however, that this was not the land he was in queſt of, he took ſome Indians as interpreters, and returning to the ſhips, ſet ſail for other iſlands, which were viſible at a diſtance.

Proceeding about ſeven leagues, he reached the weſtern extremity of another iſland, about ten leagues long, to which he gave the name of St. Mary of the Conception; but perceiving that the inh

inhabitants differed little from thoſe he had juſt left, he continued his courſe ſtill weſtward, and anchored on the coaſt of an iſland extending from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, about twenty-eight leagues, which he denominated Fernanda. In his paſſage thither, he took up an Indian at ſea in a ſmall canoe, who carried a baſket containing a ſtring of glaſs-beads and two ſmall pieces of Portugueſe coin, which had been exchanged at St. Salvador. It appeared he had been diſpatched to Fernanda with the important news of what had happened. The admiral treated him with great civility, and put him on ſhore with ſome toys, that he might give a favourable report to the people he was about to viſit.

The ſucceſs of this expedient fully anſwered the expectation of Columbus. No ſooner did he approach the iſland, than the natives crowded round him in their canoes, to barter their commodities, which were ſimilar to thoſe where he touched at firſt; but the inhabitants of this iſland evinced a ſuperior ſhare of ſagacity and addreſs. The women here wore girdles of cotton cloth. The natives lived in a kind of tents, almoſt deſtitute of furniture; and their beds were formed of nets ſuſpended from two poſts. The only domeſtic animal was the dog, which however did not bark. The ſeas ſupplied abundance of fiſh.

This iſland affording only ſimple neceſſaries, Columbus proceeded to another, which he called Iſabella. In beauty, fertility, and extent, this far exceeded what he had yet ſeen. Enamoured of its pictureſque appearance, the admiral landed to take poſſeſſion, and to view its beauties. Here the ear was delighted with the melody of birds ſo numerous, that their flight almoſt obſcured the day.

Near one of the lakes, of which there were ſeveral, the Spaniards killed a large alligator, which they afterwards ſkinned and ate. This animal is eſteemed by the Indians the moſt delicious food.

Having inveſtigated the produce of Iſabella, the admiral, unwilling to loſe more time, among iſlands which, though beautiful, afforded no precious metals, ſet ſail with a fair wind for an extenſive country, extolled by the Indians for its riches; and arrived on the north ſide of Cuba on the 28th of October. This iſland exhibited an enchanting variety of hills and dales, woods and plains; and from the largeneſs of its ſtreams, he rightly conjectured it muſt be of conſiderable magnitude.

In order to obtain intelligence, Columbus anchored in a ſpacious river, whoſe banks were ſhaded with tall trees, bearing bloſſoms and fruits with which he was perfectly unacquainted. The Spaniards landed and entered two houſes, which had been deſerted by the natives through fright. They however injured nothing, and ſoon re-embarking, continued their courſe weſtward, till they arrived at another river, to which they gave the name of de Mares. This being ſtill more conſiderable than the other, the ſhips proceeded up it to ſome diſtance, between banks all along inhabited. Here too the natives had fled, and carried their moſt valuable effects to the mountains, which appeared lofty and clothed with ſtately trees of the fineſt verdure.

Senſible that without ſome intercourſe with the Indians he could never gain the information he wiſhed, and fearful of increaſing their terror by landing a number of men, Columbus ordered two Europeans, attended by a native of St. Salva-

dor and another of Cuba, who had ventured aboard, to travel up the country, and to endeavour to conciliate the confidence and good will of the inhabitants. In the mean while, he directed the ſhips to be careened.

In a few days the two meſſengers returned, accompanied by the Indian king and his ſon, and informed the admiral, that they had proceeded twelve leagues into the country, where they found a town of fifty wooden houſes covered with ſtraw, containing about one thouſand people; that they were met by the principal inhabitants, who received them in the moſt friendly manner, and treated them with all the hoſpitality in their power. Their attention indeed bordered on veneration. This favourable reception they owed to their Indian attendants, who gave a very favourable report of the new viſitors.

On taking leave, a great number of the natives propoſed to accompany them to the ſhips. This offer they declined; and would accept of none but the cacique, or king, and his ſon, under whoſe protection they experienced great reſpect. In return for theſe civilities, the two princes were courteouſly entertained by the admiral.

In this excurſion, they ſaw a variety of birds and fowls; but no quadrupeds ſave dogs. The land in general was well cultivated; and beſides the bread-root and a ſpecies of beans, produced plenty of maize of which a well-taſted flour was made. The principal manufacture was cotton, gathered from trees of ſpontaneous growth. Of this the natives exchanged conſiderable quantities for the moſt inſignificant articles. As this plant was only applied to the making of hammocks,

and ſhort aprons for the females, its value was little regarded here.

Neither gold, pearls, nor ſpices were the known produce of this iſland; but the Indians pointed to a country called Bohio, where they ſignified that all theſe articles abounded.

In conſequence of this information, the admiral reſolved to viſit it. But before his departure, he ſecured twelve of the natives, men, women, and children, whom he intended to carry to Spain; and ſo little impreſſion did this ſeizure occaſion, that the huſband of one of the females came on board in his canoe, and requeſted to accompany his wife and children, which was readily granted.

For ſome days the wind was contrary, and the attempts to reach Bohio were vain. In this interval, Martin Alonzo Pinzon took advantage of the ſwiftneſs of his veſſel, and left Columbus in the night, that he might anticipate his ſucceſs, and engroſs the wealth of Bohio to himſelf.

Thus deſerted by one of his conſorts, and the weather rendering it dangerous to keep the ſea, Columbus returned to another harbour in Cuba, which he called St. Catharine's; while his crews were employed in wooding and watering here, he accidentally diſcovered ſigns of gold on ſome ſtones in the river; and ſaw mountains covered with pines, ſufficient for the largeſt maſts, and plenty of oak for planks. In his run along the coaſt to the ſouth-eaſt, he found many large rivers and excellent harbours, and was ſo charmed with the beauties of the country, that he was almoſt tempted to fix his habitation here for life. Sailing up one of the rivers, he perceived a very large canoe drawn on land, and another in the water, which though formed

of the trunk of a ſingle tree, was ſeventy feet long, and capable of carrying fifty men. Columbus, having coaſted the iſland for one hundred and ſix leagues, again ſet ſail for Bohio, which, though only ſixteen leagues diſtant, the currents prevented him from reaching till next day, which being the feaſt of St. Nicholas, he gave the name of that ſaint to the port in which he anchored. This harbour is deep, ſpacious, and commodious; but the inhabitants flying at his approach, he coaſted the iſland to the northward till he reached the harbour of Conception; when, obſerving that the face and productions of the country in many reſpects reſembled Spain, he gave it the appellation of Hiſpaniola.

He ſaw numbers of the natives, who fled with great precipitation; but ſome of the Spaniards having at length ſecured a young woman, with a plate of gold ſuſpended from her noſe, ſhe was introduced to the admiral, who, after preſenting her with ſuch trifles as were moſt likely to pleaſe female vanity, civilly diſmiſſed her, accompanied by three Spaniards and as many Indians.

Next day eleven men, well armed, advanced about four leagues up the country, where they diſcovered a town of one thouſand houſes, from which the inhabitants, as uſual, retired; but a St. Salvador Indian having found means to remove their apprehenſions, they ſoon returned, brought their viſitors food, and gazed on them with mingled aſtoniſhment and awe. The Spaniards reported, that the country was fertile and delightful, the people comparatively fair, courteous, and tractable; and that gold was ſaid to be found farther to the eaſtward.

On this news, the admiral immediately ſet ſail, and in his progreſs taking up an Indian who was ſtruggling with the waves in his little canoe, and preſenting him with ſome European toys, ſet him ſafe on ſhore. This man expatiating on the generous and humane manner in which he had been treated, ſoon induced his countrymen to come on board; but except ſome perſonal ornaments of gold, brought nothing of conſequence with them. They gave ſigns, however, that the metal which was the object of all their enquiries, was produced in great quantities higher up the country.

While the Spaniards were next day on ſhore, bartering with the ſovereign of that diſtrict for a plate of gold, a canoe with forty men approached from a ſmall iſland in the vicinity, called Tortuga, which the cacique perceiving, he ſat down on the ſtrand with his attendants, as a ſignal of peace; but notwithſtanding this, the Tortugans landed. On this the king aroſe, and ſternly commanded them to re-embark; at the ſame time giving a ſtone to one of the Spaniards which he ordered him to throw at the intruders, in proof that he would eſpouſe the cauſe of the ſtrangers. This had the deſired effect; and no inſult was offered. Soon after, the ſame cacique returned in ſtate, carried in a palanquin, and attended by two hundred men as naked as himſelf. He now ſeemed to feel his importance; went on board without ceremony, and entered the cabin while dinner was ſerving up. Columbus received the Indian chief with the mildeſt demeanour, and the moſt pointed reſpect, and ſupplied him with food and wine. During dinner, the cacique and his two principal attendants were grave, and

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ſpoke very little. After it was over, he preſented the admiral with a wrought girdle, and two thin plates of gold, for which he was complimented with a counterpane, a ſtring of fine amber beads from the admiral's own neck, a pair of red ſhoes, and a bottle of orange-flower water. Theſe gifts were ſo acceptable to the prince, that he and his miniſters ſignified to Columbus, that the whole iſland was at his diſpoſal. The admiral on this diſplayed a gold medal with the impreſſion of the king and queen of Spain, which ſeemed, as well as every object he ſaw, to fill him with wonder and admiration. In the evening he was ſent aſhore at his own deſire, and ſaluted with the diſcharge of ſeveral guns. This, as may well be imagined, excited the moſt lively apprehenſion and aſtoniſhment. His reception, however, was ſo grateful, that he ordered his ſubjects to entertain the Spaniards who conducted him on ſhore, and proceeded to his palace, with an oſtentatious diſplay of the preſents he had received. On the 24th of December, the admiral ſailed for a headland, ſince called Punta Santa, and anchored about a league from ſhore. Having had no reſt for two days, and the weather being calm, he retired to ſleep; and contrary to the orders he had given, the crew followed his example, leaving only a boy at the helm. This neglect proved fatal. The veſſel was drifted about midnight on a ridge of rocks, before any one was aware of the danger. The admiral being alarmed by the cries of the boy, ran firſt on deck, where perceiving the alarming ſituation, he ordered the maſter and three ſailors to carry out an anchor aſtern. But fear, rather than duty or feeling, operating on their minds, they rowed to the other caraval, regardleſs

leſs of his commands. Thus abandoned by his men, he ordered the maſts to be cut away, and the veſſel to be lightened; but as the water was ebbing away, all his efforts proved ineffectual: the ſeams of the ſhip opened; and ſhe was full of water to the deck.

The other caraval ſent the men and boat back again with indignation and contempt; and the admiral, ſeeing no hopes of ſaving his own ſhip, now carried his men on board the other. He then diſpatched meſſengers to inform the Indian chief of his misfortune, and ſolicited his aſſiſtance. The cacique condoled his diſaſter with tears, and enjoining his men to obey the orders of Columbus, by the friendly ſervices of theſe honeſt ſavages, every valuable was ſaved, and depoſited in houſes on ſhore, and guarded with the utmoſt fidelity.

Soon after this calamity, the hoſpitable prince, whoſe name was Guacanagari, paid a viſit of condolence to the admiral, and bewailed his loſs with the moſt amiable ſenſibility. He told him he might command his whole fortune, preſented him with ſome vizors enriched with plates of gold; and obſerving with what avidity the Spaniards regarded that metal, promiſed to procure a quantity of it from a place called Cebao. In the mean time, a canoe from a diſtant iſland brought plates of gold which they exchanged for ſmall bells; and the ſeamen in general carried on a lucrative traffic with the Hiſpaniolans, who brought gold from the interior parts of the iſland to barter for ſuch trifles as pleaſed their fancy.

The manners of the inhabitants and the productions of the country were ſo agreeable to the admiral, that he reſolved to ſettle a colony here; which

which by maintaining a friendly intercourſe with the Indians, and learning their language, might be of future benefit to the nation he ſerved. To purſue this reſolution, he was encouraged by the voluntary offers of ſome of his men who fell into his views, and the cacique was not a little pleaſed at the proſpect of having ſuch valuable allies to protect him from the hoſtile invaſions of the Caribbee Indians, a race of inhuman canibals, who frequently moleſted his ſhores. The ſagacity of Columbus knew how to give importance to this idea: he ordered a great gun to be fired againſt the ſide of the wreck; and the Indians ſeeing the bullet penetrate the ſides, and then fall into the ſea, regarded their gueſts with the ſame awe, and the belief that they poſſeſſed the thunder of heaven.

A tower was now conſtructed from the timber of the wreck, ſeemingly in compliance with the cacique's deſire; and having furniſhed it with proviſions, ammunition, and arms, he left a garriſon of thirty-ſix men, under the joint command of three of his moſt truſty dependants, whom he warmly recommended to the favour and protection of the king and his people.

This buſineſs ſettled, he cauſed a few huts to be erected, and named the place the town of Nativity. He then turned his thoughts towards Spain, leſt ſome misfortune befalling the only ſhip he had left, he might for ever be prevented from publiſhing the diſcoveries he had made. Accordingly, having left the moſt benevolent and judicious directions for the regulation of the colony's conduct, he ſet ſail from the port of Nativity on Friday the 4th of January at ſun-riſing; and made ſuch obſervations as might enable him

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to diſtinguiſh the harbour in any future expedition. The wind being adverſe, he made but little way to the eaſtward. On Sunday morning he fell in with the Pinta, Capt. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who, as we have previouſly mentioned, had deſerted the admiral. Pinzon going on board, ſtrove to excuſe his deſertion by pretending that he had loſt ſight of his conſorts in the night. Columbus was ſenſible of the fallacy of his pretences; but rather than prejudice the common cauſe, diſguiſed his ſentiments, and liſtened to the excuſes that were made.

Pinzon, it ſeems, had ſailed to a river fifteen leagues eaſtward of the port of Nativity, where he had ſpent ſixteen days in bartering for gold with the natives, and in this traffic he had been pretty ſucceſsful; but having diſtributed one half among his crew, and retained the other himſelf, he wiſhed to conceal the amount. He afterwards anchored near a conical hill, which they named Monte Chriſto, about eighteen leagues eaſt of Cape Santo; but the weather impeding his farther progreſs, he went up a river in his boat, where he diſcovered gold-duſt in the ſand, and from hence gave it the appellation of the gold-river. On the 13th of January, Columbus being near Cape Enamorado, he ſent his boat aſhore, where ſome Indians, armed with bows and arrows, and with fierce aſpects, ſeemed diſpoſed to make reſiſtance. They were, however, brought to a kind of conference by means of the Salvador linguiſt; and one of them venturing to go on board the admiral, appeared ſo ſavage in manners and addreſs, that the Spaniards reaſonably concluded he was one of the Caribbee canibals. This man having anſwered the interrogations that were put

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to him by ſigns and words, was entertained; and diſmiſſed with ſuch inſignificant preſents as ſeemed beſt ſuited to his taſte.

At the place where he landed, fifty men with long hair, adorned with plumes of parrot feathers and armed, formed a kind of ambuſcade; and notwithſtanding the exhortations of their countryman, refuſed to have any commerce with the Spaniards; and even began to commence hoſtilities. Though the Europeans were only ſeven in number, they met the ſavages with great intrepidity, cut one with a ſword in the buttock, and ſhot another with an arrow in the breaſt, on which the whole party fled with precipitation. The admiral was not diſpleaſed at this ſkirmiſh, as he imagined its event might increaſe the ſecurity of the colony left on the coaſt.

Columbus, continuing his courſe with a fair wind, made ſuch progreſs that, on the 9th of February, according to the pilot's reckoning, they were ſouth of the Azores; but by the admiral's account, which proved to be right, they were one hundred and fifty leagues to the weſt. The favourable weather which had hitherto attended them, now began to change: the wind increaſed to a hurricane, and the billows ran mountains high. For ſome days, the veſſels were toſſed at the mercy of the ſtorm, during which the two ſhips ſeparated; and each ſuppoſing the other had periſhed, the crews betook themſelves to acts of devotion, and the admiral vowed to go on a pilgrimage to our lady of Guadaloupe; but the crew went farther: they ſwore to walk barefoot in their ſhirts, to the firſt church dedicated to the virgin, they could find. In tempeſts and diſtreſſes, the Spaniards are ſtill known to ſeek refuge

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in ſuch kind of ſuperſtition: it is the ſtrong hold of ignorance and the laſt which it quits.

A ſcarcity of proviſions increaſed their calamity; and the ſhip wanting ballaſt, was in danger of being overſet. For this laſt defect, the ingenuity of Columbus diſcovered an expedient. He ordered his caſks to be filled with ſea-water; and with a view to immortality, even when on the brink of deſtruction, he wrote a brief account of his diſcoveries on two ſkins of parchment, which he wrapped in oil-cloths covered with wax; and having incloſed them in two ſeparate caſks, committed them to the ſea.

The ſtorm continued till the 15th of February, when one of the ſailors diſcovered land from the round top, which proved to be St. Mary, one of the Azores, where, after four days ſpent in inceſſant labour, they came to an anchor. The inhabitants of this iſland humanely ſent freſh proviſions on board, and many compliments from their governor, who expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at the ſucceſs of the expedition, and ſeemed to rejoice at the diſcoveries that had been made. Nor were the natives leſs ſurpriſed, that the ſhip had been able to weather a ſtorm of fifteen days continuance: theſe gave the admiral and his crew intimation of an hermitage in the vicinity dedicated to the bleſſed virgin, and at this they reſolved to perform their vows.

No ſooner, however, had the boat and one half of the company come on ſhore to fulfil this penance, and had begun their naked proceſſion than they were made priſoners by the governor who had planted men in ambuſh on purpoſe. Columbus having waited in vain for the return of the boat, from day-break till noon, began to ſuſpect

ſuſpect ſome treachery; and ſailing round a point, to gain a view of the hermitage, perceived a number of Portugueſe enter the boat, with a view, as he apprehended, of attacking the caraval. The prudence of Columbus was on its guard. He hoped to be able to ſecure the Portugueſe commander as an hoſtage, by inviting him on board; but finding he kept aloof, the admiral demanded the reaſon of ſuch an outrage on the Spaniſh nation, and threatened the conſequences. The Portugueſe captain declared that what had been done was by the expreſs order of the king; on which Columbus ſuppoſed a rupture had taken place between the two crowns, and ſwore he would never quit his ſhip, till he had taken one hundred priſoners, and deſtroyed the whole iſland.

He now returned to the port he had left; but next day the wind increaſing, he loſt his anchors, and was forced out to ſea, with no more than three able ſailors on board. The weather afterwards becoming mild, he endeavoured to recover the iſland of St. Mary, which he reached on the 21ſt. Soon after a boat was diſpatched to him in the governor's name with five men and a notary, to enquire whence the ſhip came, and if ſhe actually carried the king of Spain's commiſſion. Being ſatisfied in theſe particulars, they returned, and ordered the priſoners to be releaſed. It ſeems the object and the orders of the Portugueſe were to ſecure the admiral's perſon; but this ſcheme was rendered abortive by his prudent caution.

Columbus again ſet ſail with a favourable wind; but ſoon another tempeſt overtook him; and he narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck on the rock of Liſbon. Providence, however, ſtill favoured

him, and with great exertions, he at laſt anchored in the river Tagus. On this he diſpatched an expreſs by land to their Catholic majeſties with the news of his arrival, and another to the king of Portugal, requeſting his permiſſion to anchor before the city.

On the 5th of March, an armed boat came along ſide of the admiral, and required him to give an account of himſelf to the king's officers, as was cuſtomary on entering that river. The ſpirit of Columbus would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to this indignity. As the king of Spain's admiral, he gave them to underſtand, that he could not comply. The Portugueſe finding him reſolute, demanded a ſight of the Spaniſh monarch's letter: this was readily produced; on which a ſuitable report being made, the commander immediately came on board with military muſic, and many expreſſions of friendly congratulation. No ſooner was the nature of the voyage blazoned in Liſbon, than the whole river was covered with boats. The Indians and the particulars of the diſcovery were irreſiſtible novelties and attractions. The king himſelf ſent preſents of neceſſaries and refreſhments, accompanied with felicitations; and deſired to ſee Columbus before he left his dominions. The admiral at firſt heſitated; but reflecting that the two nations were at peace, he at laſt acceded to the ſovereign's requeſt, and waited on his majeſty at the palace of Valparaiſo, about nine leagues from Liſbon. The king ordered all the nobility of his court to to advance and meet him; and when the admiral was introduced into his preſence, he inſiſted on his being covered, and ſitting down. Having heard the recital of his adven-

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tures with apparent pleaſure, he offered to ſupply him with whatever he ſtood in need of; though he could not help obſerving, that the right of conqueſt belonged to him, as Columbus had firſt been in the ſervice of Portugal. The admiral modeſtly aſſigned his reaſons for being of a different opinion. "It is very well," replied the king, "juſtice will doubtleſs be done."

Conſiderable offers were made to re-engage the admiral; and every honour and diſtinction were paid him. The king even ſent to inform him, after the interview, that ſhould he be diſpoſed to travel to Caſtile by land, every accommodation on the road ſhould be provided him; Columbus, with ſuitable acknowledgments, declined this flattering offer; and ſetting ſail from Liſbon, came to an anchor in the port of Palos, on the 15th of March, after an abſence of more than ſeven months.

The people attended his landing in proceſſion; and thanks to the Almighty for his protection, were mixed with admiration of the hero who had ſucceſsfully encountered ſo many dangers, and laid open new regions of which, however, the importance could not even be conjectured. By this time, Pinzon was arrived in Galicia, and was eager to carry the firſt news of the diſcoveries to court; but being forbid to proceed without the admiral under whoſe conduct he ſailed, the repulſe made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, that he fell ſick, and returning to his native place, in a few days breathed his laſt.

Meanwhile Columbus ſet out for Barcelona, where the court then reſided; and his whole journey might be compared to a triumph. All ranks flocked round him, eager to ſee this intre-

pid adventurer, and the Indians in his train. He reached Barcelona about the middle of April, and new diſtinctions awaited him. The ſtreets could ſcarcely contain the crowds that preſſed on him; and to heighten public curioſity, the productions of the new-diſcovered regions were carried uncovered. To do him more ſignal honour, their majeſties ordered their royal throne to be placed in public, on which they ſeated themſelves under a canopy of cloth of gold. When the admiral approached to kiſs hands, they ſtood up, and cauſed him to be ſeated in their preſence, and treated him as a grandee of the firſt claſs. Columbus then recited the principal particulars of his voyage, the diſcoveries he had made, and the hopes he entertained of finding ſtill more important acceſſions to the dominions of Spain. He ſhewed the Indians as they appeared in their native climes; and diſplayed the riches of the new world. Having finiſhed his narrative, their majeſties kneeling down, thanked God, with tears of gratitude, which act of devotion was immediately followed by a grand Te Deum.

Never was man treated with more honour and diſtinction than Columbus at this period. In the king's excurſions round Barcelona, he kept him always by his ſide; an honour which had never been conferred but on princes of the blood; and which, perhaps, was more invidious than deſirable.

But the regard of their majeſties for the admiral was not confined to unſubſtantial forms: he was gratified with new patents, confirming and enlarging his former privileges; and extending his viceroyalty and command over all the countries he had diſcovered, or might diſcover in future.

The more the ſucceſs of this expedition was canvaſſed, the more important it appeared; and it was immediately reſolved, that Columbus ſhould return with a powerful armament to proſecute his diſcoveries. Not ſatisfied with this, the king diſpatched an ambaſſador to Pope Alexander VI. to obtain his apoſtolic ſanction to the new dominions, and an excluſive title to future diſcoveries in the ſame quarter. The holy father made no difficulty in complying with this requeſt; and as if he had been lord of the world, drew a line from pole to pole at the diſtance of one hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Azores, and beſtowed this extenſive track of the globe on their Catholic majeſties. Such was the original title of Spain to America, ſuperadded to the right of diſcovery. In vain ſhall we trace the foundation of either, to validity, from religion or juſtice; but ambition, intrenched behind power, is ſatisfied with the ſemblance of truth.

At this moment it is a queſtion undecided, if Europe loſt or gained more by the diſcovery of America, or rather by colonizing it. Columbus, however, will ever enjoy the pre-eminence that is due to ſuperior penetration and perſeverance; nor can we contemplate his humane and enlightened conduct in general, without paying him the tribute of our praiſe.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

COLUMBUS.

THE fame and merits of Columbus already made the malignant paſſions of jealouſy and envy rankle in the hearts of thoſe who had oppoſed his original plans, or wiſhed to detract from his ſucceſs. But all thoſe emotions were for the preſent ſtifled; and the neceſſary meaſures being concerted for the proſecution of his future undertakings, with an activity proportioned to the objects in view, in a ſhort ſpace, a fleet of ſeventeen veſſels was equipped, ſtored with proviſions, implements for improvements, and commodities for traffic. Many artizans and labourers were engaged; and ſo great was the thirſt of gold, that numbers were deſirous of entering into this ſervice, beyond what could be accepted. The admiral reſtricted himſelf to fifteen hundred perſons of all deſcriptions; and having taken on board ſome of the moſt uſeful European animals, ſet ſail from the road of Cadiz, on the 25th of September 1493, and immediately ſtood for the Canary Iſlands, where he intended to take in refreſhments. He arrived at the Grand Canary on the

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2d of October; and on the 7th continued his voyage for the Weſt Indies, as they were now called, in contradiſtinction to the Eaſt.

A proſperous gale attended them for four hundred leagues to the weſtward of Gomera; nor did they fall in with any of the weeds, which had been ſo plentiful in the former voyage. On the 26th, at night, the mariners perceived thoſe lights which they call the body of St. Elmo, to which they ſang litanies and prayers, in full confidence that no danger would now enſue from any ſtorm, however violent.

On the 2d of November, a great alteration in the winds and ſky took place; and it poured down torrents of rain. From this the admiral concluded they were near land; nor was he wrong in his conjecture; for, at day-break, they deſcried a high mountainous iſland, about ſeven leagues to the weſtward, which he named Dominica, becauſe it was diſcovered on Sunday morning. Three other iſlands were diſcovered in the vicinity; when the people, aſſembling on the poop, ſang *Salve regina*, and returned thanks to God for their proſperous voyage. The eaſt ſide of Dominica affording no convenient anchorage, they ſtood over to another iſland, which Columbus named Marigalante, from his own ſhip; and landing, took poſſeſſion with the uſual ſolemnities.

He ſoon ſailed to another iſland, which he denominated St. Mary of Guadaloupe, in conformity to a promiſe made to the friars of a convent bearing that name. At the diſtance of two leagues from this ſhore, they eſpied a very high rock, terminating in a point, from which guſhed a natural caſcade with prodigious noiſe. Having landed

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ſome men, they advanced to a kind of town, which was abandoned by all the inhabitants, except ſome children, to whoſe arms they tied a few preſents, in token of amity. Here they ſaw geeſe, a variety of parrots, and ſeveral fruits, particularly pine apples of exquiſite taſte and flavour. They refrained from meddling with any of the domeſtic utenſils or manufactures, that the natives might conceive the better opinion of the morality of their viſitors.

Next day, the admiral ſent two boats aſhore, to open, if poſſible, ſome communication with the natives; and the crews ſoon returned with two young men, who, it appeared, had been in a ſtate of captivity. The boats, returning again for ſome of the people who had been left behind, found ſix women in their company, who had fled to their protection. Theſe the admiral preſented with beads and bells, and diſmiſſed, contrary to their inclinations; for they were no ſooner landed, than the Caribbees robbed them in the ſight of their benefactors. Next opportunity they had, theſe poor creatures leapt into the boat, and implored the protection of the Spaniards, giving them to underſtand, that the iſlanders had eaten their huſbands, and retained them in ſlavery. They were therefore brought on board, when they gave the admiral to underſtand, that towards the ſouth were many iſlands and a large continent; and they pointed out the ſituation of Hiſpaniola. For this iſland Columbus would inſtantly have proceeded, had not one of his captains and eight men been on ſhore without leave. To recover them, he ſent a party aſhore with muſquets and trumpets, to give the ſignal of recal. This expedient proving unſucceſsful, he ordered forty men, under Captain

tain Hoidea, to range the country, and to make obſervations on its produce. They reported that they found maſtic, aloes, ſanders, ginger, frankincenſe, and abundance of cotton; that birds of various ſpecies were in abundance, and that they croſſed ſeveral rivers, ſome of which were deep and ſpacious.

While abſent on this excurſion, the ſtragglers returned of their own accord, and ſaid they had been bewildered in the woods; but to puniſh their preſumption, the captain was ordered into irons, and the men were abridged of their uſual allowance. Having made this example of neceſſary ſeverity, Columbus himſelf landed; and entering ſome of the houſes, found plenty of cotton, raw and ſpun, and numbers of human ſkulls, and bones ſuſpended in baſkets. The natives ſeemed to live and lodge more comfortably than any of thoſe he had viſited in his firſt voyage.

On the 10th of November, he ſailed in queſt of Hiſpaniola, and paſſed an iſland which he called Mountſerrat, from its extraordinary elevation; the inhabitants of which, he learned, had been totally devoured by the Caribbees. In his progreſs, he paſſed iſlands to which he gave the reſpective names of St. Mary Rodonda, Antigua, and St. Martin, near the laſt of which he came to an anchor; and, on weighing, found pieces of coral adhering to the flukes. On account of bad weather, he again anchored at another iſland, where they ſecured four women and three children, and ſoon after fell in with a canoe, in which were four men and a woman. Theſe ſeeing an eſcape was impracticable, put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and the female diſcharged an arrow with ſuch force, that it actually pierced a ſtrong

a ſtrong target. The canoe being accidently overſet, they betook themſelves to ſwimming, and one of them uſed his bow with as much dexterity as if he had been on land. All the males were eunuchs, and had been caſtrated by the Caribbees to increaſe their fatneſs.

Departing from thence, Columbus continued his courſe; leaving to the northward fifty iſlands, to the largeſt of which he gave the name of St. Urſula, and to the reſt that of the Eleven Thouſand Virgins. He then anchored in a bay, on the weſt ſide of what he called St. John Baptiſt, where the mariners caught plenty of fiſh. In the vicinity of the bay, they viſited ſome well-built houſes with a ſquare in front, and flanked on the ſides with cane-towers, having their tops interwoven with greens.

On the 14th he arrived in the bay of Samana in Hiſpaniola, where he ſent on ſhore one of his Indian natives, now a convert to Chriſtianity, who undertook for the ſubmiſſion of his countrymen. From thence he proceeded for the town of Nativity; and coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Chriſto; ſome of his men diſcovered two bodies of men, with a rope about their necks, ſuſpended on a kind of croſs. This did not augur well; but whether the ſufferers were Chriſtians or natives, they could not tell.

Next day a number of Indians came on board, with apparent confidence and cordiality; and, pronouncing ſeveral Spaniſh words, the apprehenſions of the admiral began to be allayed. On the morrow, however, his doubts were at an end; for, in anchoring near the town of Nativity, ſome Indians came along ſide, and enquired for him by

by name, preſenting a compliment from the cacique Guacanagari. From them he had the ſorrow to learn, that the greater part of his colony was dead, and the reſt gone into diſtant countries. Columbus concealed his ſuſpicions, and diſmiſſed the meſſenger with preſents for the prince.

Ruin and deſolation met his view, on entering the port of the Nativity: the town was burnt to the ground, and not a ſoul was to be ſeen. The bodies of eleven Spaniards were diſcovered, who ſeemed to have been dead a month. Ruminating with regret and reſentment on this diſaſtrous event, he received a viſit from the brother of the cacique, who informed him, that he had ſcarcely ſailed, before the colony began to quarrel; each perſon endeavouring to amaſs as much gold, and to monopolize as many women as ſuited his appetite or his avarice; that having committed a murder on one of their aſſociates, ten of them had retired into the dominions of Caunabo who was lord of the mines, by whom they were put to death, and who afterwards deſtroyed the town with all the inhabitants. He farther repreſented, that Guacanagari having eſpouſed the cauſe of the Spaniards, was wounded in the conflict, and in conſequence was now under confinement. This ſtory exactly tallied with intelligence received from ſome Spaniards, who had been ſent up the country to reconnoitre. The admiral therefore paid the cacique a viſit next day, and was received with every token of affection and concern. The prince repeated the melancholy tale with marks of unfeigned regret; and diſplayed his own wounds and thoſe of his men which had been received in defence of the ſettle-

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The admiral being diſguſted at the ſight of a place which had been the ſcene of ſo many diſaſters, ſailed to the eaſtward with his whole fleet; and paſſing the ſmall though pleaſant iſles of Monte Chriſto, anchored before an Indian town, where he deſigned to plant a colony.

Having landed thoſe that were intended for ſettlers in a commodious plain, he built a tower to which he gave the appellation of Iſabella. The ſpot lay under a rock, on which a fort might be eaſily erected; the harbour was large, and in the vicinity ran a ſtream of excellent water, from which the town might conveniently be ſupplied. At no great diſtance, the mines of Cebao were ſaid to lie. To aſcertain this, the admiral diſpatched a captain and fifteen men; and on the 2d of February, he ſent off twelve of his ſhips to Caſtile under the command of Antonio de Torres.

The party ſent to explore the country, informed the admiral, that on the ſecond day, they came to the paſs of an almoſt inacceſſible mountain; and at the diſtance of every league, found a cacique, by whom they were hoſpitably receiv-

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ed. On the ſixth day, they reached the mines of Cebao, where they actually ſaw the Indians collecting gold from a ſmall river, as they afterwards did from many others of the ſame province.

This grateful intelligence aſſiſted to revive the admiral, who had experienced a fit of ſickneſs from fatigue; and on the 12th of March he ſet out for Cebao, well attended by men on foot and horſeback, leaving, however, a ſtrong guard under the command of his brother Diego Columbus. This precaution he took in conſequence of a conſpiracy which he had detected and quelled on board, and likewiſe to ſecure the ſettlers from any ſudden attack. He took ſuch neceſſaries with him as he judged proper to build a fort in the province of Cebao, for the protection of thoſe he meant to leave there to gather gold; and to intimidate the natives, he marched his people through their villages in rank and file with arms and accoutrements, trumpets ſounding, and colours flying. The inhabitants ſeemed to have no idea of private property: they endeavoured to make free with whatever pleaſed their fancy, and ſhewed ſurprize at meeting with a repulſe. The whole way was agreeably diverſified with pleaſant mountains, covered with wild vines, and various ſorts of fragrant trees.

On the 14th of March, the admiral proceeded for the river of Canes; and ſoon reached another to which he gave the appellation of the Gold-river, becauſe here he diſcovered ſome grains of that precious metal. Having with ſome difficulty paſſed this large volume of water, he found a conſiderable town with the doors barricadoed againſt him

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with canes. He entered the province of Cebao on the 16th, which though not very fertile, yields plenty of graſs, and is watered by rivers abounding in gold.

His firſt attention was directed to the building of a fort in the centre of the mines, and in a ſituation naturally ſtrong. This fortification he called the caſtle of St. Thomas. It was garriſoned by fifty-ſix men, under the conduct of Peter Margarite.

The admiral having communicated his inſtructions and advice to the garriſon, ſet out on his return for Iſabella, where he found cucumbers and melons raiſed from European ſeeds, fit for the table; and ears of wheat, which had been ſown only two months, ripe and luxuriant. Vetches produced a crop in twenty-five days, and ſugar-canes budded in the ſame ſpace. Columbus ſaw and admired the fertility of the ſoil; nor were the climate and the water leſs agreeable to his wiſhes.

A meſſenger arrived on the 1ſt of April, with intelligence, that the cacique Caunabo was preparing to attack the fort of St. Thomas. To this Columbus gave little credit, as he did not ſuppoſe the natives had either reſolution or force to make any impreſſion on it; but wiſhing to leave every thing in quiet, before he proceeded on farther diſcoveries, he diſpatched a reinforcement of ſeventy men. Meanwhile he completed his town, which was regularly diſpoſed, and ſupplied with water by an artificial canal. He likewiſe reſolved to ſend all the ſuperfluous hands back to Spain, European proviſions beginning to fail, and the health of ſeveral, in conſequence, appearing to decline. The more robuſt, he ordered to tra-

verſe the iſland, that they might make diſcoveries, and become habituated to the Indian diet.

Accordingly four hundred Spaniards departed from Iſabella on the 29th of April, and having croſſed the river del Oro, apprehended a cacique, whom, with his brother, they ſent to the admiral in irons for breach of truſt. Another cacique, relying on the ſervices he had done the Spaniards, accompanied the priſoners to Iſabella, in order to intercede for their liberation. The admiral received him courteouſly, and, to enhance the value of the favour he intended to grant, commanded the delinquents to be brought out for execution. The mediator, with a flood of tears, begged for their lives, which were granted to his friendſhip and ſolicitations. Immediately after their releaſe, a perſon on horſeback arrived from St. Thomas's, who told the admiral that he had reſcued four Spaniards, who had been taken by the cacique's ſubjects by way of repriſal, and that four hundred perſons fled at the very ſight of his horſe.

Columbus having made preparations for a new expedition, left a council, of which his brother was preſident, to govern in his abſence. He then ſailed to Cuba; and on the 3d of May diſcovered Jamaica, where he was informed there was plenty of gold. This iſland appeared beautiful in the extreme. A number of natives came on board to barter proviſions for toys. Coaſting along the ſhore, he ſent out his boats to ſound when they were unexpectedly ſurrounded by armed canoes. The Spaniards, however, not being intimidated, ſaluted the aſſailants with a flight of arrows, by which ſeveral were wounded and the reſt fled with precipitation. The admi-

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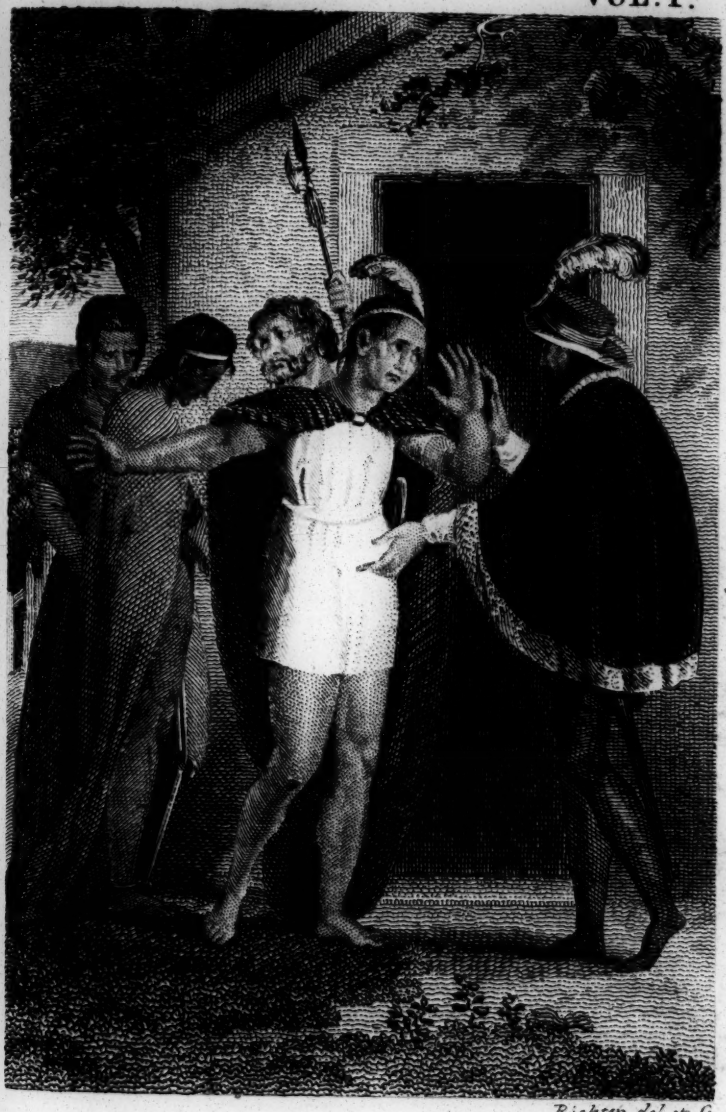

Richter del. et sc.

"The mediator with a flood of tears, begged for their lives." pa. 40

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ral having repaired his ſhip, ſtood over again, for Cuba, determined to diſcover whether it was an iſland or a continent. The ſame time a young Jamaica Indian requeſted to accompany Columbus to Spain; and, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his countrymen and friends, perſiſted in his reſolution. It is needleſs to ſay he met with a kind reception.

Having reached the point of Cuba, which he denominated Cabo de Santa Cruz, he was overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning. He found the whole ſea in this quarter interſperſed with little ſandy iſlands, which render the navigation very dangerous. Cloſe to the ſhore, ſome of them, however, were very pleaſant; and therefore he ſtyled them the Queen's Garden. On theſe, they ſaw ſcarlet-coloured cranes, abundance of turtles, and an infinite quantity of ſinging birds. The very air was impregnated with fragance, and the ſenſes were recreated with delight.

In one of the channels ſeparating theſe iſlands, they obſerved ſome fiſhermen in a canoe, exerciſing their vocation after a new and curious form. A ſtring being tied round the tail of ſome ſmall fiſhes, called reves, which had been taught to encounter their fellows of the deep, by clinging faſt to them, both are drawn up together. The Spaniards ſaw them catch a tortoiſe by this means; the reve being wound round its neck. It is ſaid that theſe decoy fiſhes will ſometimes attack ſharks of the largeſt ſize. The Indians made a preſent to the admiral of the fiſh they had caught; for which he gave them a ſuitable return. He now began to be in great want of proviſions; and his health was much impaired

by fatigue, and want of reſt, which he could not venture to enjoy amid ſuch a dangerous navigation.

On the 22d of May, Columbus landed on one of theſe larger, ſurrounding iſlands, to which he gave the name of St. Mary. Here he entered a town, abandoned by the inhabitants; where he found nothing but fiſh and dogs. Continuing his voyage to the north-eaſt, he became ſtill more embarraſſed by the vaſt number of flats and iſlands which opened in unvaried ſucceſſion to his view. With all his precautions, the ſhip was frequently aground; and ſeeing no probable termination of the dangers he inceſſantly encountered, he was induced to relinquiſh his deſign of making the circuit of the iſland, till he ſhould return to Spain.

The admiral now touched again at Cuba. On this occaſion one of the mariners having aſcended a tree, ſaw about thirty perſons armed with ſpears and ſtaves called macanas; and among them one clad in a white veſt, reaching to his knees, and carried by two men dreſſed in a ſimilar manner, with complexions as fair as Spaniards. As theſe Indians haſtily retired, Columbus next day ſent ſeveral people on ſhore to aſcertain the truth of this report, but without ſucceſs.

Some canoes coming off with a ſupply of water and proviſions, one of the Indians was detained as an interpreter; on promiſe, however, of being ſet at liberty as ſoon as he had given the intelligence required. From him the admiral was given to underſtand, that Cuba was an iſland; that the king never deigned to addreſs his ſubjects but by ſigns; and that the ſurrounding coaſt was low, and full of iſlets.

Next

Next day they fell in with ſuch a number of turtles, that they actually covered the ſea; while the ſun was darkened by a cloud of ſea-crows. They likewiſe ſaw ſuch ſwarms of butterflies, that the face of day was obſcured from morning till night, when a deluge of rain ſwept them all away.

On the 13th of June, Columbus anchored in an iſland about thirty leagues in circumference, which he named Evangeliſta; and having wooded and watered, directed his courſe ſouthward; but ſoon found himſelf embayed. Returning to the coaſt of Cuba, he ſtood to the eaſtward; and on the 30th his ſhip ran aground, and ſtuck ſo faſt, that it was with great difficulty and ſome damage ſhe could be got off. While in this vicinity, they were viſited by an old cacique, during the celebration of maſs. To this ſervice he ſeemed to pay great attention; and, at its concluſion, ſignified his belief in the exiſtence of a ſupreme Being, the rewarder of virtue, and the puniſher of vice in a future ſtate.

The admiral put again to ſea on the 16th of July. The winds and rains conſiderably incommoded him at firſt; but as he approached Cape Cruz, he was overtaken by ſuch a ſudden ſtorm, that before the ſails could be furled, the ſhips were well nigh overſet. Nor was this ſtorm the only evil: they had alſo to contend with famine. Providentially, however, they reached Cape Cruz, where the Indians ſupplied them with caſſada bread, abundance of fiſh, and ſtore of fruits. Thus refreſhed, they ſtood for Jamaica, and coaſting it to the weſtward, found it furniſhed with excellent harbours, and replete with inhabitants.

On

On the 20th of Auguſt, Colúmbus made the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, near Cape Tiberoon, which he then called Cape St. Michael. Soon after, a cacique came on board, who accoſted him by name, and pronounced ſome Spaniſh words. Towards the end of the month, having loſt ſight of the other two ſhips under his command, he anchored near the iſland of Alto Velo. Here the crew killed eight ſeals, and caught abundance of pigeons and other birds, which being unaccuſtomed to the cruelty of man, had not learned the neceſſity of flying from his approach.

At the end of ſix days, the miſſing ſhip joined. The admiral then coaſted along Hiſpaniola, where they had a view of a ſpacious plain, ſo populous, that for a league it ſeemed to be one continued city; and near it lay a large lake. Here the natives came on board; and informed them, that the colony at Iſabella was well. This pleaſing information being received, he diſpatched nine men acroſs the iſland, to inform the planters of his arrival on the coaſt. Proceeding eaſtward, he ſent his boats aſhore for water, near a populous town, whence the inhabitants ſallied with bows and poiſoned arrows, to oppoſe a landing. They even produced ſome ropes, with which they menaced to bind the intruders; but ſeeing the Spaniards advance without diſmay, they threw away their arms, and made a tender to the admiral of all they poſſeſſed.

Obſerving an uncommon fiſh of great magnitude ſporting in the waves, and judging from other indications, that a ſtorm was approaching, the admiral wiſhed to find a place of ſecurity to anchor in; and had the good fortune to diſcover an iſland, near the eaſt part of Hiſpaniola, called by

by the natives Adamanai. Here being ſhelter-ed, he obſerved an eclipſe of the moon, which was followed by a tempeſt for ſome days ſucceſ-ſively. Having weathered the ſtorm, and reach-ed the eaſtern point of Hiſpaniola, he paſſed over to a little iſland, named Mona by the Indians; and in his paſſage from thence to St. John de Borriguen, he was ſeized with a peſtilential and lethargic fever, which ſoon deprived him of his memory and reaſon. In this dilemma, his peo-ple reſolved to proceed to Iſabella, where they arrived in five days; and the admiral recovered his ſenſes, on the fever leaving him; but was long in a feeble convaleſcent ſtate.

At Iſabella he had the felicity of finding his brother Bartholomew, who, on leaving the court of England, where, we have previouſly mention-ed, he had been in treaty, received intelligence from Charles, king of France, of his brother's ſuc-ceſs; and by this monarch, he was ſupplied with one hundred crowns to proſecute his journey to Spain. Unfortunately, the admiral had ſailed on his ſecond expedition before his arrival at Seville; but their Catholic majeſties ſoon enabled him to purſue the ſame track with a fleet of three ſhips. Bartholomew was conſtituted, by the admiral, Governor of the Indies. This title occaſioned ſome diſpute, and expoſed Columbus to the oblo-quy of his adverſaries. The difference was, how-ever, compromiſed; and he was allowed to bear the appellation of Lieutenant of the Indies. Thus, though the power was the ſame, the word that expreſſed it was changed. Man has always been the dupe of terms.

The ſociety and aſſiſtance of Bartholomew was a real conſolation to the admiral, who by the miſcon-

miſconduct of Peter Margarite, found himſelf involved in quarrels with the natives. This inſolent officer, inſtead of obeying the orders of Columbus, encamped with the party with which he had been entruſted to traverſe the country, about ten leagues from Iſabella, whence he diſpatched menacing letters to the council. Finding it impoſſible to uſurp the ſupreme direction as he wiſhed, and dreading the return of the admiral, he embarked in the firſt ſhip bound for Spain, leaving his men without a leader. Theſe following their own inclinations, diſperſed about the country, robbed the natives, carried off the women; and committed ſuch atrocities as alienated the affections of the Indians, and induced them to think of revenge.

Indeed, had the caciques and their dependant lords been firmly united, they might eaſily have emancipated themſelves from the Spaniſh yoke. But jealouſy will always prevent unanimity among rival powers, even where their intereſt is the ſame. Guacanagari continued firm in his profeſſions, and had even incurred the reſentment of his brother ſovereigns, for the faithful part he had acted. A neighbouring cacique had killed one of his women; Caunabo, the lord of the mines, had ſtollen a ſecond: to revenge the death of the one, and to recover the other, he earneſtly implored aſſiſtance. The admiral, out of gratitude undertook to redreſs his wrongs. Beſides he had an intereſt in fomenting diſſentions between the Indian chiefs. Policy and morality have ever been at variance, and Columbus ſtudied the latter!

On the 24th of March 1495, the admiral, in company with Guacanagari, ſet out from Iſabella to proſecute the war againſt his Indian foes, who

had assembled an army of one hundred thousand men; while the Europeans did not exceed two hundred, with twenty horses, and as many dogs.

Never were such disproportionate armies opposed to each other. On the second day, Columbus being in sight of the enemy, divided his army into two bodies, giving the command of one to his brother Bartholomew, that, by a double attack, the attention of the Indians might be distracted, and their confusion increased. The first discharge of the Spanish cross bows and musquets threw them into some disorder; but when the Europeans advanced with horses and dogs, the timid and undisciplined multitude fled in consternation and dismay. Numbers were slain and taken prisoners; among the latter was Caunabo, with all his wives and children. This cacique confessed, that he had killed twenty of the Spaniards who were first left at Nativity, and that his intention was to attack Isabella. Such a confession confirmed by actual rebellion, if it deserves the name, were judged so criminal, that the admiral determined to send him and all his family to the tribunals of Spain.

This signal victory and the captivity of Caunabo so intimidated the Indians, that in the space of a few months, the admiral reduced the whole island; and imposed a quarterly tribute on the natives. Peace became so well confirmed, that a single Spaniard could travel over the whole island without molestation, and even experience hospitality and regard. The colony, however, by change of climate and of food, was nearly reduced to one-third of the number originally landed at Isabella.

During

During this interval of repoſe, the Spaniards made themſelves acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of the natives, and the productions of iſlands they had not hitherto viſited. With regard to religion, every cacique had a detached houſe ſet apart for the lodging and ſervice of certain wooden images, denominated Cemis, before which they prayed, and uſed peculiar rites. Caunabo being interrogated reſpecting his condition after death, replied, that in a future ſtate he ſhould be removed to a certain vale, where he ſhould aſſociate with his parents and predeceſſors, and enjoy every ſenſual pleaſure, with the higheſt reliſh, unreſtrained.

Hiſpaniola being now in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion and the colony eſtabliſhed and protected, the admiral reſolved to reviſit Spain, to give an account of his proceedings, and to refute the charges of ſome malicious accuſers. He therefore embarked on the 10th of March, 1496, on board two ſhips, with two hundred and twenty-five Spaniards and thirty Indians, and immediately ſteered for the eaſtward.

The wind proving unfavourable and proviſion falling ſhort, he was obliged to ſtand to th ſouthward, and on the 9th of April anchored Marigalante. Next day he ſailed to Guadaloup and ſending his boats aſhore, the crews we oppoſed by a number of armed women, wh ruſhed out of a wood. The mariners reſting their oars, ordered two of their Indian fema to ſwim to land, and inform the iſlanders, th proviſions were their only objects, for which th would make a liberal return.

Theſe Amazons having underſtood the d mand, pointed to the northward, where th

husba

huſbands would ſupply them. Accordingly, on the ſhips coaſting round, a number of people came down to the beach, and let fly a ſhower of arrows at the boats. It was at laſt found neceſſary to diſcharge a broadſide from the ſhips againſt theſe determined iſlanders. On this they inſtantly fled, abandoned their houſes, and left them to the mercy of the Spaniards. Their effects, being now conſidered as lawful plunder, were ſeized without remorſe, and their houſes deſtroyed. A ſufficient quantity of bread was found to ſupply the wants of the ſhips; and in ſome of the dwellings, which were all ſquare, they diſcovered honey, wax, and ſome implements of iron. A man's arm, roaſting on a ſpit, appeared to have been the intended meal of one family.

The admiral now diſpatched forty men to obtain intelligence of the country, who returned next day with ten women and three boys, among whom was the ſpouſe of a cacique. This lady, notwithſtanding her fleetneſs, was ſecured by a Canary man, whom ſhe hoped and attempted to make her prey. Theſe women were enormouſly corpulent and clumſy; they had long hair flowing down to the ſhoulders, and were ſwathed with cotton from the ſankle to the knee. This was the only dreſs they wore. The captive princeſs ſaid the iſland was inhabited by women only; and that among thoſe who oppoſed the landing were only four men. At certain ſeaſons of the year, it appeared, that the males viſited them for a ſhort ſpace, and then retired. This was likewiſe the caſe in another iſland, poſſeſſed by the ſame ſort of Amazons, who ſeemed to be endowed with a maſculine underſtanding, and

ſtrength not common among the males of this climate.

The ſhips being furniſhed with a ſupply of neceſſaries, ſet ſail from Guadaloupe on the 20th of April, after the admiral had diſmiſſed the captive females, except the princeſs and her daughter, who preferred accompanying Caunabo to Spain. This man it appeared was one of their countrymen, though he had riſen to be a cacique of Hiſpaniola.

When the ſhips were about one hundred leagues weſt from the Azores, proviſions began to run ſhort, and the crews were obliged to be put to a ſhort allowance. On the 8th of June, ſeveral days after all the reckonings of the pilots had been out, but exactly as the admiral calculated, they made the land of Odenicra, between Liſbon and Cape St. Vincent. By this time the famine was ſo ſevere, that ſome propoſed to eat the Indians, while others recommended their being thrown overboard to leſſen the conſumption. The admiral rejected both thoſe propoſals with diſdain, and exerted his utmoſt addreſs to protect the wretched captives. Next morning his humanity received its recompence in a ſight of land, which ſo well accorded with his prediction, that his men began to think him inſpired.

The admiral being landed, ſet out for Burgos, where their Catholic majeſties were then celebrating the nuptials of their ſon Prince John with Margaret of Auſtria. He met with a favourable reception; laid before the king and queen ſpecimens of the various productions he had accumulated in his voyage; and preſented them with a conſiderable quantity of gold duſt, pieces of that metal

metal, and articles of manufacture, enriched with its plates.

His next buſineſs was to vindicate his conduct from ſome aſperſions, with which envy had tarniſhed his character. In this he apparently ſucceeded to his wiſhes; but when he requeſted to be ſent back with ſupplies to the colony, which he juſtly repreſented as being in want of men and neceſſaries, ſo dilatory was the court, that many months elapſed before he could obtain the object of his wiſhes. At laſt an incompetent relief was ſent off in two ſhips, under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronell. The admiral was once more reduced to the neceſſity of unheeded ſolicitation. The Spaniſh miniſtry thwarted his deſigns; their majeſties perhaps were jealous of his ſuperior character; and the biſhop of Burgos, a man of conſiderable influence, exerted all the arts of low cunning to bring him into diſgrace. This perſon was the inveterate enemy of Columbus; and in the ſequel it will appear, was the chief author of his calamities.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

THIRD VOYAGE OF *COLUMBUS.*

THAT patient fortitude and perſeverance, which were characteriſtic of Columbus, enabled him at laſt to carry his point. He forwarded and ſuperintended his new expedition with all poſſible diligence; and at laſt, on the 30th of May 1498, ſet ſail from the bay of St. Lucar de Barrameda with ſix ſhips filled with neceſſaries for the ſettlers; reſolving to proſecute his diſcoveries with freſh alacrity.

On the 9th of June, he took in refreſhments at Madeira; and on the 19th reached Gomera. Here a French ſhip having captured three Spaniſh veſſels, put to ſea with them, on the appearance of the ſquadron. The admiral being informed of this capture, ordered his ſhips to chaſe, but the French eſcaped by dint of ſailing.

Columbus now proceeded to Ferro, from which he diſpatched three of his ſhips to Hiſpaniola, under approved officers, while he with the reſt ſhould ſail towards the Cape Verd Iſlands, and from thence direct his views to the diſcovery of the continent.

On the 25th of June, the admiral came to an anchor in Bona Viſta, where he found a few houſes for the accommodation of lepers, who are landed here for a cure. The Portugueſe who had the charge of the iſland ſupplied Columbus with ſuch articles as they could ſpare; and upon his enquiring how the leproſy was healed, was informed, that the patients truſt chiefly to the temperature of the air, and the fleſh of tortoiſes, with the blood of which they were externally anointed.

Turtles and goats were extremely numerous in this iſland, of the latter of which many are ſalted and ſent to Portugual.

At St. Jago, the admiral wiſhed to take on board ſome cows and bulls for his plantation in Hiſpaniola; but finding ſome difficulty and delay in obtaining this object, he ſailed without accompliſhing it; reſolving to ſteer ſouth-weſt till he ſhould reach the line, and then to alter his courſe to weſt. He proceeded accordingly: but proviſions and water falling ſhort, he determined to change his direction and make for Hiſpaniola. He therefore ſtood to the northward, when one day, about noon, a ſailor from the round-top ſaw land to the weſtward, about fifteen leagues diſtant, ſtretching towards the north-eaſt as far as the eye could reach. The mariners ſung the Salve Regina; and the admiral gave the new-diſcovered land the name of Trinity, from the circumſtance of three mountains preſenting themſelves to his view at once.

Continuing his courſe due weſt, he diſcovered the continent at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues, on the 1ſt of Auguſt; but miſtaking it for another iſland, gave it the appellation of Iſla Santa.

Columbus

Columbus, for better ſecurity, proceeded to a more weſterly point of land, denominated del Arenal. In his way he was followed by a canoe with twenty-five men, who ſtopped within muſket ſhot, and ſhouted aloud. He endeavoured to allure them to the ſhip, by diſplaying ſome braſs ornaments and looking glaſſes; but this expedient proving, in this inſtance, ineffectual, he ordered one of his men to aſcend the poop, and play on the tabor and pipe, while his companions danced round him. No ſooner did the Indians hear the muſic, and obſerve the geſticulations of the Spaniards, than they took them for a ſignal of war, and prepared for a reſolute defence. The ſavages however retired on a diſcharge of croſs bows from the ſhip; but they went along ſide of another caraval, without apprehenſion; and ſome civilities were interchanged between them and the captain. Their complexions were pretty fair; they had long hair tied with ſtrings, and wore girdles of cotton cloth.

Having watered his ſhips at Arenal, from artificial trenches which he found on the ſhore, he proceeded north-weſt to another mouth or channel, which he called Boca del Drago, and which is formed by a point of Trinity iſland meeting another from the continent. In the midſt of the Boca del Drago he anchored; and here the currents were ſo ſtrong, and the roaring of the waves ſo terrible, that the mariners were filled with conſternation and fear. They however eſcaped without damage; and the admiral again weighing anchor, ſailed along the ſouth coaſt of Paria, as he called it, which he then conjectured was an iſland; and hoped to find a paſſage northward to Hiſpaniola; but in this he was at laſt undeceived.

The

The boats being ſent on ſhore on the 5th of Auguſt, found plenty of fruits and wood; and obſerved traces of the natives who fled at their approach. A little farther down the coaſt, a canoe with three men came off, and met with the uſual kind reception and preſents from the admiral, after which they were ſent aſhore, where a number of the Indians were aſſembled. Theſe being ſatisfied of the pacific diſpoſition of the Spaniards, commenced a traffic with them. The males covered their heads and waiſts with cotton cloth; but the females were in a ſtate of perfect nudity. They ſeemed more civilized and tractable than the Hiſpaniolans; but like them, ſhewed the greateſt predilection for braſs toys and bells.

Nothing valuable appearing among the productions of this quarter, ſave a few inconſiderable plates of gold ſuſpended from the necks of ſome of the natives, Columbus taking ſix of the Indians on board, and ſailing weſtward, touched at two lofty and well-peopled iſlands, which ſeemed more rich than thoſe he had left. The inhabitants wore ſtrings of beads or pearls round their arms, and had heavier plates of gold. The admiral having purchaſed ſome of the pearls, which he was informed were found to the weſtward and northward of Paria, ſent off ſome boats to enquire into the circumſtances of this valuable fiſhery. The natives received the Spaniards with every mark of amity and hoſpitality, and expreſſed their deſire to live with the Europeans in thoſe ſentiments.

Columbus, continuing to ſail weſtward, found the water become more ſhallow; and having reconnoitered the coaſt by means of one of his ſmaller

ſmaller veſſels, diſcovered that what appeared to be iſlands, was one continuous continent. He was therefore obliged to return to the eaſtward; and, with ſome difficulty, paſſed the ſtraights lying between Paria and Trinity iſland. He now ſailed along the coaſt of Paria; and after paſſing ſome iſlands, entered the harbour of Domingo on the 30th of Auguſt, where his brother had built a city of that name.

Columbus, almoſt blind with inceſſant watchfulneſs, and quite exhauſted with fatigue, now flattered himſelf with the hopes of repoſing in the boſom of peace and tranquillity. Alas! his expectations were vain: the whole iſland was in a ſtate of confuſion; the greater number of the ſettlers were dead; a new and dreadful diſeaſe, which poiſons the ſprings of life, had attacked about one hundred and ſixty; a conſiderable party had rebelled under a perſon whom he had conſtituted chief juſtice; and, to complete his chagrin, the three ſhips diſpatched from the Canaries were not arrived. After a tedious voyage, in which a great part of the proviſions was ſpoiled, theſe veſſels, however, at laſt arrived. The admiral's brother having informed him of the circumſtances of the revolt, he was reſolved to tranſmit an account of it to their Catholic majeſties; and as the rebels complained of being detained on the iſland, a free paſſage was offered to ſuch as were deſirous of returning to Spain.

After many altercations, it was ſettled that the admiral ſhould deliver up to Roldan, the ringleader of the revolt, two good ſhips well provided, to tranſport him and his adherents to Spain: that he ſhould iſſue an order for the payment of their ſalaries and wages to the day of their departure

parture; and that within fifty days from the ratification of this convention, the malcontents ſhould quit the iſland. Matters being thus compromiſed, the admiral gave orders for equipping the ſhips; but from the ſcarcity of ſtores and the turbulence of the weather, ſome time having elapſed before they could be brought round to Xaragua, the port from which the embarkation was to be made, Roldan changed his intentions; and taking advantage of the unavoidable delay that had intervened, he renounced the ſtipulations, and refuſed to depart. The officer, who conducted the ſhips to their deſtined port having in vain exhorted the rebels to acquieſcence in their original engagements, entered a proteſt againſt their proceedings; and returned to the admiral, to whom he reported Roldan's objections. Columbus well knowing the diſaffection of his own people, was eager to heal this new breach; and conſenting to a conference with the rebel chief, it was ſtipulated; that the admiral ſhould ſend home fifteen of Roldan's followers in the firſt ſhip bound for Spain; that thoſe who remained on the iſland ſhould have lands and houſes in lieu of pay; that an act of amneſty ſhould be publiſhed; and Roldan himſelf reinſtated in his office of perpetual judge. Having at laſt adjuſted this irkſome affair, Columbus ſent out a captain with a body of men, who were to traverſe the iſland and reduce the rebellious Indians; while he himſelf propoſed to return to Spain, and to take his brother the lieutenant with him.

In the meanwhile Alonzo de Ojeda arrived with four ſhips from a cruiſe, and putting into Yaquimo, not only committed unprovoked outrages on the Indians, but began to tamper with

the Spaniards. To theſe he inſinuated, that Queen Iſabella was in a declining ſtate of health, and that after her deceaſe, Columbus would find no protection at court; but, on the contrary, would fall a victim to the enmity of Ojeda's kinſman, the intriguing biſhop of Burgos.

Theſe proceedings having reached the ears of the admiral, he diſpatched Roldan with twenty-one men againſt him; who, coming upon him ſuddenly, rendered eſcape or reſiſtance impracticable. On this, Ojeda altered his tone, excuſed his landing on a pretence of wanting proviſions, and declared he had no intention to diſturb the quiet of the iſland. He then recounted ſome diſcoveries and adventures on the coaſt of Paria; and concluded with a promiſe, that he would ſoon ſail round to Domingo, and have a perſonal interview with the admiral.

Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, he ſailed to the province of Xaragua, where he ſeduced a number of perſons that had lately been in rebellion; and arrogated to himſelf and Caravajal a ſuperintending power over the admiral, by the appointment of their Catholic majeſties. He even inſtigated ſome to attempt force to carry their wiſhes; but being oppoſed by the ſound part of the Spaniards, a tumult enſued, in which ſome lives were loſt; and Roldan being again ſent to attack him, forced the intruder to take refuge on board his ſhips. By a ſtratagem, the juſtice got poſſeſſion of his boat. This obliged him to conſent to a treaty, and to leave the coaſt.

Soon after his departure, another commotion was raiſed by one of the former partizans of Roldan, who wiſhed to marry the daughter of Canua,

nua, queen of Xaragua; but being oppoſed in this deſign, he concerted meaſures for taking off the chief juſtice. Roldan having obtained intelligence of his intentions, concerted his plan ſo well, that he ſeized the chief conſpirators; and being directed by the admiral to puniſh them according to law, one of the ringleaders was hanged, others baniſhed, and ſome left to the diſpoſal of Columbus.

This example of ſevere puniſhment, which was become abſolutely neceſſary for the maintenance of ſubordination, had ſuch a ſalutary effect, that tranquillity was reſtored throughout the whole iſland, both among the ſettlers and natives. About this time, gold mines of the moſt ſuperior richneſs were diſcovered; and every perſon began to labour in them on his own account, paying, however, one-third of his produce to the king. So proſperous was this trade, that one man has been known to collect forty ounces in a day; and one lump of pure gold was diſcovered, weighing no leſs than one hundred and ninety ſix ducats.

While the zeal and activity of Columbus were diſplaying themſelves, in appeaſing the troubles and promoting the proſperity of Hiſpaniola, for the honour and intereſt of their Catholic majeſties, he had little reaſon to apprehend, that a ſtorm was collecting againſt him at home, and juſt ready to burſt on his head. During the late commotions, a number of complaints had been preferred againſt him by thoſe whoſe criminal views he thwarted. He had been repreſented in the worſt colours, that ingenious malice could deviſe; and the friends of the complainers being reinforced by his private enemies about court

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ſuch a clamour was raiſed in Caſtile, that the people crowded round their majeſties, demanding juſtice againſt the proud and imperious foreigner, who had oppreſſed and drawn from their native country, to death and ruin, ſo many of the Spaniſh gentry. That mob, which a few years before, almoſt idolized him for his diſcoveries, now inveighed againſt him on this very account, as being deſtructive to their countrymen; and the court who wiſhed, no doubt, to reap the benefit of his labours without the tax that gratitude and original conditions impoſed, at laſt yielded to the importunity. Their Catholic majeſties gave a commiſſion to one Francis de Bovadilla, a perſon in low circumſtances, to proceed for Hiſpaniola, under the title of inſpector general. By virtue of his authority, he was to take cognizance of the admiral's conduct; and if he found him guilty, he was to ſend him to Spain, and ſupply his place. This licence blinded his juſtice and ſtimulated his ambition; for no ſooner was the inſpector arrived at St. Domingo, than he took poſſeſſion of the admiral's palace. He then aſſembled all thoſe whom he found diſaffected to Columbus or his brother; declared himſelf governor; and, to attach the people to his intereſt, proclaimed a general remiſſion for twenty years to come. His next ſtep, was to require the admiral's preſence; and to enforce this, he diſpatched the king's letter, which ran in the following tenor. It is worthy of being preſerved, as it ſhews how little reliance is to be put in the gratitude of princes, or in the ſtability of favour.

To D. Chriſtopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean.

WE have ordered the commendary, Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with ſome things from us. Therefore we deſire you to yield him entire credit and obedience. Given at Madrid.

May 21, 1499.

By command of their highneſſes, Mic. Perez de Almazon. } Signed { I, THE KING. I, THE QUEEN.

Columbus did not heſitate to obey this ſummons. He ſet out immediately for St. Domingo, to wait on Bovadilla, who clapt him and his brother Diego in irons on ſhip-board; and placing a ſtrong guard over him, denied him all acceſs of his friends.

A proceſs was then inſtituted againſt the admiral and his brother: their enemies were admitted as evidences; and no depoſitions were ſo abſurd, incoherent, or malicious as to be rejected on that account. It was determined to convict him, that Bovadilla might retain his ſtation.

Bartholomew, the lieutenant, was not yet returned from Xaragua, and it is probable he might have reſcued his brother by force of arms had not the admiral requeſted him quietly to ſubmit to the authority of the new governor. The conſciouſneſs of innocence would not ſuffer this great man to attempt a defence by force. No ſooner had Bovadilla ſecured the perſons of the brothers, than he gave poſitive orders to the captain of the ſhip, on landing, to deliver them to Foneſca, the implacable enemy of Columbus. The new governor then began to ſquander the king

king's treaſures among his creatures; to countenance profligacy and oppreſſion; and to overturn all the ſalutary regulations of his eminent predeceſſor.

Andrew Martin, the captain of the veſſel which carried Columbus, aſhamed of ſeeing ſuch a man in irons, wiſhed to knock them off. The admiral inſiſted on wearing them, during the whole of his paſſage, obſerving; that he was reſolved to keep them as a memorial of the reward of his ſervices. This reſolution he never changed: the fetters were always preſerved as the moſt precious relics, and, at his own requeſt, buried in the ſame coffin with him.

On the 20th of November 1500, having arrived at Cadiz, he wrote a letter to their majeſties, giving an account of his treatment. He received a very gracious anſwer, in which concern for his ſufferings was joined with cenſure of Bovadilla's conduct. He was invited to court, with a promiſe, that he ſhould ſhortly be reinſtated in all his honours.

On his arrival at Granada, the king and queen confirmed by words their obliging intimations in their reply; and aſſured him he ſhould have ample ſatisfaction. In the mean time, having ordered an inveſtigation to take place, and the accuſations appearing malicious and frivolous, he was moſt honourably acquitted. A new governor was nominated for Hiſpaniola to redreſs the admiral's grievances, and to oblige Bovadilla to make reſtitution. This power was delegated to Nicholas de Obando, a man of abilities, but indious and revengeful. At the ſame time, it was reſolved, that Columbus ſhould be ſent on ſome

voyage of profit and honour, till Obanda ſhould ſettle the affairs of Hiſpaniola. But the admiral chagrined at the ingratiude he had experienced, and apprehenſive of future diſgrace from the machinations of his enemies, declined the enterprize, till he was ſtrongly ſolicited by their majeſties, and aſſured of their zealous protection.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

FOURTH AND LAST VOYAGE OF *COLUMBUS.*

A SQUADRON of four ſhips, with one hundred and forty men on board, being equipped, under the ſuperintendance of Columbus, he ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1501, for Arzilla, in order to relieve the Portugueſe, who were reported to be in great diſtreſs; but before he arrived, the Moors had raiſed the ſiege. He therefore proceeded immediately for the Grand Canary, where he arrived on the 20th, and took in wood and water for his voyage.

On the evening of the 25th he weighed and ſtood for the Weſt Indies, with ſuch a propitious gale, that he reached Martinico on the 15th of June; and ſoon after, ſtanding to the weſtward among the Caribbee iſlands, he ſteered for Domingo with a view of changing one of his ſhips which proved a bad ſailer; and hoping afterwards to continue his voyage to the coaſt of Paria, in queſt of the ſtraight which he ſuppoſed lay near Vuagua and Nombre de Dios.

But that the new governor, ſent out to regulate the affairs of the colony and to recal Bova-

dilla, might not appear to be taken by ſurprize, he diſpatched before him one of his captains to ſignify the reaſon of his purſuing this courſe. So little inclined was the governor to aſſiſt the admiral with another ſhip, he would not even allow him to enter the port; and diſregarding the prediction of Columbus, who foreſaw an approaching ſtorm, permitted a fleet of eighteen ſail to put to ſea for Spain, having on board Bovadilla and the reſt of the admiral's opponents.

This ſquadron, however, had hardly weathered the eaſtern extremity of Hiſpaniola, before they were overtaken by a terrible tempeſt, in which the commodore, with Bovadilla and almoſt all the principal rebels foundered, and not more than three or four ſhips of the whole were ſaved; while Columbus, aware of the impending danger, ſheltered himſelf under the land in the beſt poſition he could. But the wind ſoon roſe to a perfect hurricane, and his three conſorts were forced out to ſea. The Bermuda, commanded by Bartholomew Columbus, was ſaved by the admirable ſkill and dexterity of this accompliſhed ſeaman; being a bad ſailer, her danger had been moſt imminent. In a few days, the ſhips all joined the admiral in the port of Azua. Though a revengeful temper and a ſuperſtitious mind might have found conſolation in the idea, that this dreadful tempeſt had been the deſtruction of his enemies, Columbus felt more chagrin than ſatisfaction when he reflected, that he was denied ſhelter in that very country he had diſcovered, and annexed to the crown of Spain, in whoſe ſervice he ſtill laboured. His enemies, leſs liberal, leſs enlightened, aſcribed this ſtorm to magic; and to give weight to this belief, the only

ſhip out of eighteen that arrived in Spain was the Aguja, on board of which were four thouſand peſos of gold, the property of the admiral.

Unwilling to enter into diſputes with the governor, Columbus refreſhed his men in the beſt manner he could in the port of Azua, and thence ſailed to an harbour of Braſil, called Gracchimo by the Indians. Leaving this, he was ſo becalmed, that inſtead of continuing his courſe, he was carried by the currents near Jamaica. However, after ſome delay, ſtanding ſouthward for the continent, he reached the iſlands of Guanara, near the country now called Honduras, where Bartholomew landed, and found a numerous population, and ſome pieces of lapis calaminaris, which the ſeamen miſtook for gold. While he remained here, he deſcried a large canoe with an awning made of palm tree leaves, under which the women and children were ſheltered from the weather; and though the veſſel was manned by twenty-five ſtout Indians, they ſuffered themſelves to be captured without the leaſt reſiſtance.

This veſſel being replete with goods and domeſtic utenſils, gave him a favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with the commodities of the country. On examining the cargo, it was found to conſiſt of quilts and cotton ſhirts, of various colours, together with long ſheets, in which the women wrapped themſelves, long wooden ſwords, ſharpened on each ſide with flints, hatchets and copper bells. The provisions conſiſted of ſuch roots and grain as were uſual in Hiſpaniola, and a kind of fermented liquor made from maize. They had likewiſe abundance of cocoa-nuts, which being the repreſentative of coin here, were proportionably valued.

valued. Theſe people ſeemed to have a due ſenſe of modeſty and decency; which decorum of manners made ſuch a favourable impreſſion on the admiral, that he ordered them to be treated with peculiar reſpect, reſtored their canoe; exchanged for European articles ſuch commodities as he wiſhed to retain, and diſmiſſed them well pleaſed. One old man, however, who cheerfully undertook the office of interpreter, and ſeemed to be a perſon of wiſdom and character among his countrymen, was kept during the courſe of the voyage; and having acquitted himſelf with fidelity in the department he undertook, was at laſt diſcharged with many valuable preſents.

Though the admiral ſoon learned from this intelligent guide, that a people of great wealth, politeneſs, and ingenuity, inhabited a country to the weſtward; yet, conceiving he could at any time ſail thither from Cuba, for the preſent, he reſolved to explore the imagined ſtraight in the continent, through which he might penetrate into the South Sea, and thus reach the ſpice country. A miſconception of the Indian's meaning had given riſe to the ſuppoſition, that ſuch a ſtraight exiſted: they intended to deſcribe an iſthmus, which Columbus miſtook for a narrow gulph, extending from ſea to ſea.

In queſt of this ſtraight, he ſailed towards a point on the continent, which he named Caſinus from the quantity of trees growing there, bearing a fruit ſo called by the Hiſpaniolans. In the vicinity of this cape, he ſaw people with painted ſhirts, like coats of mail, ſufficiently ſtrong to defend them againſt the weapons of the country, or even the ſtroke of a ſword. Farther to the eaſtward, near Cape Gracias a Dios, the natives were

of a ſavage aſpect, and cannibals. Sailing ſtill to windward, on Sunday Auguſt 14 1502, Bartholomew Columbus with a large party went aſhore to hear maſs, and, on the following Wedneſday, took poſſeſſion of the country for their Catholic majeſties. Immediately, above one hundred Indians laden with proviſions ran down to the ſhore; but perceiving the boats, ſuddenly retired in ſilence. The lieutenant aſcribing this to timidity, employed the interpreter to ingratiate himſelf with them by means of trinkets and bells, which were ſo acceptable, that next day they returned in greater numbers, bringing with them hens, geeſe, fiſh, and other kinds of proviſions. The country, though low, was beautifully verdant; producing pines, oaks, palms, and mirabolans. Among the quadrupeds were deer, and a ſpecies of leopard. The features of the inhabitants reſembled thoſe of the iſlands already deſcribed: they covered their loins; and every nation ſpoke a language of its own. Their bodies and arms were ornamented with different figures indented by fire. They ſeemed to have no religion; but on feſtivals they painted their faces of various colours, ſo as to make a moſt terrific appearance.

The wind and currents being contrary, the admiral ſpent ſeventy days in ſailing ſixty leagues to the eaſtward. On the 14th of September, he reached Gracias a Dios, ſo called, becauſe the land trending off to the ſouth, gave him an opportunity of proſecuting his voyage with the trade-wind.

On the 16th, the boats being ſent aſhore to water, one of them, with all the men, was unfortunately loſt by a violent ſurf or rippling, occaſioned

ſioned by the conflict of the current and the wind. To this river he gave the appellation of De la Diſgracia, or Diſaſter. Running farther to the ſouthward, he anchored near the town of Cariari, in the vicinity of an iſland named Quiriviri, which in population, ſoil, and ſituation, was diſtinguiſhed above every place he had yet viſited. The town was watered by a large river, on the banks of which a multitude of people appeared, ſome armed with bows and arrows, others with palm-tree lances pointed with fiſh bones, and a third deſcription with clubs. They ſeemed to have been collected to defend their country from invaſion; but being ſatisfied of the pacific diſpoſition of the Spaniards, they eagerly wiſhed to barter their commodities, conſiſting of arms, cotton, ſheets, and guaninis, which are ornaments of gold for the neck, for articles of European manufacture; but the admiral, to give the ſavages the higheſt idea of their viſitors, as if they were ſuperior to all mercenary views, preſented them with trinkets, for which he would not ſuffer anything to be taken in exchange. This ſerved only to whetten their deſire for traffic; they invited the Spaniards to land; but finding they could not ſucceed, they retired, leaving every article they had received in a ſmall heap on the ſhore. The Indians, conceiving that the ſtrangers diſtruſted their ſincerity, ſent down an ancient man of a majeſtic preſence, with a flag on a ſtaff, attended by two young women, having guaninis about their necks. Theſe females, at the earneſt requeſt of their guide, were ſent on board the admiral; and being handſomely entertained, were diſmiſſed to rejoin the veteran, and about fifty of his countrymen on the beach.

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Next day the lieutenant going aſhore, two of the Indian chiefs taking him by the arms, with a gentle violence, made him ſit down on the graſs between them. Thus ſituated, he began to interrogate them, and ordered the ſecretary to write down their anſwers. But having themſelves performed ſome magic ceremonies before they approached the Spaniards, they conceived that pen, ink, and paper were the inſtruments of ſorcery among the ſtrangers, and fled in great conſternation, when they were produced. Bartholomew found means to quiet their apprehenſions, and afterwards viſited their town, where he ſaw ſeveral tombs in a large wooden ſtructure covered with canes. They appeared to poſſeſs the art of embalming the dead. Over each of the ſepulchres was a board, carved with the figures of beaſts, or the effigies of the deceaſed, with the native ornaments.

The appearance of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants excited the admiral's deſire to become better acquainted with both. He therefore ordered ſeven of the Indians to be ſecured, and ſelecting two of the moſt intelligent looking perſons among them, diſmiſſed the reſt with preſents, aſſuring them, that their companions were detained for no other reaſon but to act as guides and interpreters, and that in a ſhort ſpace they ſhould be ſet at liberty. This detention, however was aſcribed to avarice; and next day, four ambaſſadors arrived with a preſent of two wild hogs to ranſom their countrymen. The deputies were treated with the greateſt civility, well repaid for their hogs, and ſent away ſatisfied, that no harm would befal their comrades on board.

One of the ſailors having caught a wild cat of extraordinary ſize, compared with the ſame animal

mal in Europe, the crew entertained themſelves with letting it looſe on one of the hogs, which had been brought for a preſent. Though naturally very ferocious, no ſooner did it ſee the cat, than it ran about the deck in a fright. The admiral perceiving this, ordered a hog to be brought near the cat in confinement, which immediately winding its tail about the hog's ſnout, and with its fore leg faſtening on the poll, would ſoon have diſpatched it, had not the attendants interpoſed. From theſe circumſtances it was clear, that thoſe cats hunt like the European wolves.

On the 5th of October, the admiral entered the ſpacious bay of Caravaro, in which are many iſlets. On one of theſe ſmall iſlands they diſcovered twenty canoes, and their crews hard by them on the ſhore, without the leaſt article of dreſs or ornament, ſave little plates of gold round their necks. Theſe betrayed no ſymptoms of fear, but readily exchanged a gold plate weighing ten ducats for three horſe-bells; and gave the Spaniards the agreeable intimation, that gold was abundant in that neighbourhood.

Next day, a boat's crew met with ten canoes full of people, who declining to part with their gold plates, the admiral ordered two of them to be taken, for the ſake of obtaining information by means of the Cariari interpreters. Theſe confirmed the report of gold being found at the diſtance of two days journey up the country.

Sailing from thence, the admiral, ſome days after, entered the river Guaiga, where his boats were violently aſſaulted by a party of one hundred Indians; who reſolutely ran into the water up to the middle, brandiſhing lances, blowing horns, and ſhewing every mark of averſion and defiance

defiance. The peaceable demeanour of the Spaniards ſoon appeaſed theſe hoſtile menaces; and for a few horſebells, the natives exchanged gold plates to the value of one hundred and fifty ducats. Next day, however, they lay in ambuſcade, and perceiving, that no one would venture to land without ſecurity, they ruſhed into the water, and repeated the ſame inſults as on the preceeding day. The Spaniards being exaſperated at their inſolence, wounded one of them with an arrow; and, at the ſame time, a cannon being fired, they fled in the greateſt conſternation. Then four men landing, invited them by ſigns to return; on which they laid down their arms, and entered into peaceable traffic.

Columbus having procured ſpecimens of the produce of this part of the country, proceeded to Catiba; and caſting anchor in the mouth of a large river, ſaw the natives preparing for defence. However, they ſent two deputies along ſide in a canoe; and theſe having diſcourſed with the interpreters, came on board the admiral, and preſented him with their plates, for which he made them a ſatisfactory return. Amity being thus eſtabliſhed, the Spaniards went aſhore, and found the king ſurrounded by a number of his ſubjects, from whom he was in no reſpect diſtinguiſhed, but by a ſingle leaf of a tree, which in ſome degree protected him from the rain. The ſovereign having firſt exchanged his gold plate, his people ſpeedily followed his example. At this place was ſeen a conſiderable maſs of wall, apparently conſtructed of ſtone and lime; the firſt trace that had been diſcovered of architectural ſkill in the new world. Sailing to the eaſtward, the admiral paſſed Cobravo, and ſeveral towns of great

trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians ſaid the gold was collected, and the plates made. On the 2d of November, he entered a harbour, to which he gave the appellation of Porto Bello, from its beautiful ſituation. The weather proving unfavourable for proceeding, he continued here for ſeven days, during which ſpace, a conſtant communication and commerce was kept up with the natives.

Leaving Porto Bello, the admiral directed his courſe to the eaſtward; but next day was forced back; and running in among the iſlands near the continent, where the town of Nombre de Dios now ſtands, called the place Puerta de Baſtimentos, from the quantity of proviſions. A boat, well manned, being ſent in purſuit of a canoe, the Indians on board it were ſo terrified, that they leaped into the ſea, and in ſpite of all the efforts of the Spaniards, eſcaped by dint of diving and ſwimming. Here Columbus remained for a fortnight, when he ſailed for Guiga, where a body of three hundred Indians appeared ready to open a trade with the Spaniards. Without making any delay here, he put into a ſmall confined port, which he named Retrete, capable of containing no more than ſix ſhips, with an entrance not more than twenty paces wide. In this place he lay nine days, at firſt trading very familiarly with the Indians, till the inſolence of one of the ſailors provoked them to open hoſtility. Their courage increaſing daily with their numbers, and the admiral having in vain endeavoured to allay the commotion, found it abſolutely neceſſary to alter his deportment, to prevent their aggreſſion. He therefore ordered his men to fire ſome pieces of cannon, which they anſwered with noiſe and vociferation

vociferation, as if they deſpiſed the exploſion, which they believed to be the effect of thunder. On this one of the great guns was loaded with ſhot, and the ball falling in the midſt of a party aſſembled on a hillock, convinced them that they had ſomething more than noiſe to apprehend. Ever after they kept out of ſight. Theſe people were tall and well-ſhaped. In the harbour, alligators were numerous. Theſe animals ſlept aſhore, and emitted a muſky ſcent. They appeared ravenous when they could take an advantage; but cowardly when attacked.

The admiral perceiving that the winds continued to blow with violence from the eaſtern quarter, and that he was precluded from trading with the inhabitants of this coaſt, reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf in regard to the authenticity of the report, concerning the mines of Veragua, and accordingly ſailed back to Porto Bello.

Next day, the wind ſhifted; and for ſome time the weather was ſo boiſterous, that a man could ſcarcely ſtand on deck. The clouds ſeemed to be melting into a deluge; the whole air appeared like a ſheet of lightning; and the thunder rolled inceſſantly over their heads. The mariners, worn out with fatigue, and terrified with this unuſual commotion of the elements, were driven to deſpair. Amidſt this danger and diſtraction, they were in the utmoſt peril of being overwhelmed by a dreadful water-ſpout, which riſing from the ſea, about the thickneſs of a butt, ſeemed to reach the clouds, and burſt with a tremendous roar. To darken their proſpect, they loſt ſight of one of the ſhips; and it was not till the end of three days, that they found ſhe was ſafe.

At this criſis, when almoſt hope was loſt, a calm enſued, of two days continuance, during which they were ſurrounded by ſharks ſo voracious, that they were caught with any bait. In the belly of one, an entire turtle was found alive. Though theſe fiſhes were regarded as ominous, and their fleſh but indifferent food, the ſailors beginning to be preſſed with famine, ate them with great eagerneſs. Indeed all their ſea ſtores were conſumed, except their biſcuit; and this was ſo full of maggots, from the heat and moiſture of the climate, that they generally ate it in the dark, to conceal the diſguſt of the vermin with which it was filled.

On the 17th of December, Columbus repoſed his crews for three days in a harbour eaſt of Pennon, called Huiva by the natives. Here they obſerved, that the natives livid in huts erected in the tops of trees, to ſecure them from wild beaſts, and land floods, or enemies of their own ſpecies; for war frequently raged along the coaſt. On quitting this harbour, a new ſtorm aroſe, and they were obliged to take ſhelter in another port. The 3d of next month, the weather became more moderate; but as if Providence had reſolved to thwart the expedition, no ſooner were they again under ſail, than the wind freſhened and became contrary; and they were buffeted about by the waves, till they were driven back to one of their former ports.

After ſome repairs and laying in a freſh ſtock of ſuch proviſions as the country ſupplied, Columbus once more ſet out; but he was ſo perplexed with currents, and fatigued with tempeſts and contrary winds, that he gave this coaſt the appropriate name of de Contraſtes, or the Coaſt of Contention.

At laſt he reached the river of Veragua, whoſe waters were very ſhallow; but the boats proceeded up to the town, near which the gold mines were ſaid to lie. At firſt the Indians ſtood on their guard, and menaced oppoſition; but our Indian interpreter giving a favourable repreſentation of the views and conduct of ſtrangers, they were appeaſed; and bartered away twenty plates of gold, and ſome grains of the ſame metal in their native ſtate, which they ſaid had been collected in deſolate mountains, at a very great diſtance.

Two of the ſhips, with the admiral on board, went up a river in the vicinity, to which he had given the appellation of Bethlem; and here they found the Indians ready to exchange their commodities, particularly fiſh, which at certain ſeaſons of the year ſwim up the rivers in incredible ſhoals. The other ſhips having joined, Bartholomew, the lieutenant, went up the river with the boats to the city of Quibio; the king, who hearing of his deſign, in token of friendſhip, met him in his canoe. Next day he viſited the admiral, and after an hour's converſation, and an interchange of preſents, he departed extremely gratified.

Soon after, the river ſwelled by the floods ſo ſuddenly and ſo high, that the admiral's ſhip parted her cable, and ran foul of another veſſel, by which accident both were in imminent danger of being loſt. This prodigious riſe was ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by ſome cloud having burſt on the lofty mountains of Veragua.

On the 6th of February 1503, the lieutenant and ſixty-eight men aſcended the river to the caſique's town, on purpoſe to enquire the neareſt

road to the mines. In conſequence of the intelligence received, they travelled ſeveral leagues, and arriving at the place where they were directed, gathered ſome gold about the roots of large and lofty trees. As the ſole aim of the journey was to obtain information reſpecting the mines, the party returned well pleaſed with their adventure; though it afterwards appeared, that the mines of Veragua lay much nearer, and that they had been purpoſely ſent to the mines of Urira, a nation at war with Quibio.

A few days having elapſed, the lieutenant with fifty men ſet out again for the river Urira, ſeven leagues weſtward of Bethlem; and next day had an interview with the cacique, when ſome plates of gold were exchanged. The Spaniards were then conducted to the town, where they were hoſpitably and entertained and lodged. Soon after their arrival at this place, the neighbouring cacique of Dururi waited on them: he had a numerous retinue, and ſeveral plates of gold were bartered by his people. The news of gold being found moſt grateful to the ears of the Spaniards, this cacique pleaſed the lieutenant, by informing him, that in the interior parts, there were caciques who poſſeſſed abundance of gold, and maintained armed men like the Spaniards.

Bartholomew ſending back a part of his men to the ſhips, proceeded with the remainder to Zobarba, where he ſaw above ſix leagues of ground full of maize, in good cultivation. Here the natives were kindly attentive; and furniſhed him with ſome plates of gold; but having advanced a great way from the ſhips, and found no place more convenient for a colony, which it was intended to ſettle, than Bethlem, he returned with a good

a good quantity of gold, and a reſolution was now taken to leave a colony here of eighty men under his command. The neceſſary diſpoſitions being made, they began to erect timber houſes, covered with palm leaves, in the vicinity of Bethlem river; and ſeveral pieces of cannon, ammunition and proviſions were lodged in the magazine apart; while other ſtores were placed on board one of the ſhips, the Gallega, for the uſe of the colony. As fiſh abounded on the coaſt, they had an ample ſupply of nets and other fiſhing tackle. The Indian mode of catching fiſh here was with hooks made of tortoiſe ſhell. Pilchards were their uſual prey. In the middle of their canoes, from ſtem to ſtern, they had a partition of palm leaves two yards high; and plying about the river, made a noiſe with their oars ſo as to alarm the fiſh, which miſtaking the leaves for land, frequently darted againſt them, and fell into the canoe. Their principal beverage was a kind of beer made of maize. They alſo made a pleaſant wine of palms.

Every thing having been provided for the comfort and ſecurity of the new colony, the admiral was determined to return to Spain; when his voyage was effectually retarded by the lowneſs of the water in the river, which would not float his ſhips, as well as by a terrible ſurf, which threatened deſtruction to any veſſel on the ſhore. This circumſtance was the more unfortunate, as the rains were paſt, which alone could ſwell the river; and the ſhips' bottoms were perfectly worm-eaten. To complete the calamity, it was caſually diſcovered, that Quibio intended to deſtroy the ſettlement, as having been formed contrary to his inclination and that of his people.

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In this dangerous dilemma, the admiral concerted meaſures with his brother. It was therefore propoſed to take the cacique and his principal men priſoners, and to carry them hoſtages to Spain. Accordingly the lieutenant and ſeventy men proceeded to the village of Veragua, where he received a meſſage from the cacique, deſiring he would come up to his houſe, which ſtood apart on a hill. He had now occaſion for all his addreſs. He reſolved to accept the invitation with five men only; having ordered the reſt to follow two and two at ſome diſtance, and, on hearing the report of a muſket, immediately to ſurround the houſe. Quibio meeting the lieutenant at the door, was immediately ſeized; and the ſignal being given, the Spaniards encircled the houſe. The prince being taken, about thirty attendants made no oppoſition. But as they were conveying the cacique on board, he found means to leap into the river; and darkneſs ſetting in, it was impoſſible to recover him, or to know the event. After a fruitleſs ſearch, the party returned overwhelmed with ſhame and vexation.

Finding it impracticable to recover the fugitive Indian, the lieutenant and his men came on board the admiral, and preſented the plunder of Quibio's houſe, which was pretty conſiderable. A fifth part was deducted for their Catholic majeſties; and the reſt diſtributed among the party engaged in the expedition.

The river being again ſwelled by the rains, Columbus found means, though with much difficulty, to get over the bar into the ſea. He then waited for a fair wind to carry him to Hiſpaniola, from whence he purpoſed ſending ſupplies to his new ſettlement. During this interval, the boat

providentially went aſhore, and was the probable ſalvation of a number of Spaniards. For Quibio no ſooner ſaw the ſhips at ſea, than he reſolved to attack the ſettlement; and the ſurrounding woods facilitated the enterprize. But the lieutenant, with undaunted reſolution, ſallied out on the enemy, and compelled the ſavages to retire, juſt as the boat reached the ſhore. In this encounter, a Spaniard was killed and ſeven wounded, among whom was the lieutenant himſelf. The enemy, however, again and again returned to the charge; and the ſpirit of the Europeans was thus broken as well as their number reduced.

Meanwhile the admiral waited impatiently for favourable weather to ſend the only boat aſhore which remained, for intelligence previous to his leaving the coaſt; and in this interval, ſome of the priſoners eſcaped in the night, and the reſt hanged themſelves in deſpair; ſo that no hoſtages for Quibio's peaceful demeanour were left. From the inclemency of the elements, no boat could live; and the anxiety of Columbus increaſing, he engaged one of his pilots to ſwim aſhore for intelligence. This hazardous enterprize he happily accompliſhed, and returned with a melancholy detail of attacks without, and animoſities within. Bartholomew found it impracticable to maintain his authority; and the ſettlers were unanimous in nothing but in quitting the place. The admiral ſeeing no other alternative than to expoſe the ſettlers, among whom was his own brother, to certain deſtruction, or to take them on board, did not heſitate what line of conduct to purſue. He received and accommodated the coloniſts in the beſt manner that the circumſtances

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of his ſhips would permit. All the goods and ſtores were carried off; and nothing of value left, except the hulk of the ſhip intended for the uſe of the ſettlement, which was found too rotten to be of farther ſervice.

The admiral having yielded to imperious circumſtances, which fruſtrated his reaſonable expectations of deriving credit and advantage from erecting a ſettlement on the continent, ſailed along the coaſt to the eaſtward, contrary to the judgment of all his pilots, who thought it poſſible to reach Domingo by bearing to the north. The ſuperior nautical ſkill of Columbus and his brother taught them otherwiſe. They were nevertheleſs expoſed to the obloquy of ignorance; and murmurs and apprehenſions were ſpread, that he had it in contemplation to ſail directly for Spain, without having taken in proviſions adequate to the voyage.

Having reached Porto Bello, he was obliged to leave another of his ſhips, which was totally decayed. He then paſſed Porto Retrete, together with a number of minute iſlands; and having weathered the point of Marmora on the continent, on the 1ſt of May, he ſtood to the north, with both wind and currents ſetting from the eaſt.

The principal navigators affirmed, that he was already to the eaſtward of the Caribbees; but he himſelf was fearful he ſhould not yet be able to fetch Hiſpaniola, and his judgment was verified. After a run of ſeveral days, he found himſelf among the iſlands called the Queen's Garden, ten leagues to the ſouthward of Cuba. By this time the ſhips were ſo leaky that they could ſcarcely be managed by the pumps: the ſtrength of

of the crews was exhauſted; and they were at a ſhort allowance of very indifferent fare, had it been unlimited. In this melancholy ſituation, they were overtaken by a ſtorm. The two ſhips ran foul of each other, and had nearly foundered; however Providence again favoured the admiral; with difficulty they got clear, and dropped their anchors. What increaſed their thankfulneſs was, to find in the morning, that only one ſtrand of the cable was left uncut: had this given way, they, muſt have been daſhed on pointed rocks.

The weather having become moderate, Columbus ſailed to an Indian town in Cuba, named Mattaia, where he laid in ſome refreſhments. But finding it impoſſible to bear up for Hiſpaniola, he ſtood over to Jamaica, with the ſhips almoſt full of water, in ſpite of all their exertions. At laſt he reached the harbour of Santa Gloria, well guarded by rocks; and finding it impoſſible to keep the ſhips longer afloat, he ran them aground, ſide by ſide, and ordered ſheds to be made on their decks for the protection of his men. By this expedient he had the crews more under control than if they had been on land, and better guarded from any attack of the natives. With that wiſdom which always marked his conduct, he appointed two perſons to ſuperintend the market, that equal juſtice might be done on both ſides; and the Indians, ſure of honourable treatment, might be ready to ſupply him with proviſions, or to engage in traffic. Theſe regulations were like grateful to his own men, who were well ſupplied, and to the Indians who frequently exchanged their animals and proviſions for a bit of tin, a few glaſs beads, or a hawk's bell. A chief

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was ſometimes complimented with a red cap, a ſmall looking-glaſs, or a pair of ſciſſars.

But though they were now freed from the preſſure of want and immediate danger, this was not the ſcene of their reſt. The admiral next conſulted how to tranſport the party to Hiſpaniola, and after mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that two canoes ſhould be diſpatched thither with an account of their misfortunes, and a preſſing ſolicitation to the governor, to ſend a ſhip for their relief. James Mendez de Segura, the admiral's ſecretary, embarked in one canoe with ſixteen men, Spaniards and Indians; and the command of the other was given to Bartholomew Fieſco, a Genoeſe gentleman, who had the ſame number of hands. This laſt had orders to return immediately with the news of their ſafe arrival; while Mendez ſhould continue his route over land to St. Domingo.

The men left, ſoon began to grow ſickly from the fatigue they had undergone, and a change of diet; and illneſs always foſters a ſpirit of diſcontent. They now caballed againſt the admiral as if he had no wiſh to return to Spain; they anticipated the refuſal of the governor of Hiſpaniola to grant any aſſiſtance from his previous conduct; they even ſuggeſted that the canoes were loſt, or ſome tidings would have been received from the ſecretary. Hence they concluded, that it was their beſt plan to leave the admiral, who was very ill of the gout, and to follow their companions to Hiſpaniola, where their aſſertion would be a paſſport to the governor's favour. Two brothers of the name of Porras were the ſuggeſters and ſupporters of theſe ſentiments

and as the biſhop of Burgos, the ſworn foe of Columbus, kept one of their ſiſters in quality of concubine, they did not doubt but they ſhould meet with protection in Spain. Theſe inſinuations had their full effect; and about forty-eight of the men having fallen into their line, preparations were diligently made for the execution of their deſign.

Matters being ripe for a diſcovery, on the 2d of January 1504, Captain Francis de Porras, who had been elected leader, aſcending the quarter-deck, where the admiral lay confined in bed, inſolently demanded the reaſon why he did not return to Spain, but kept his men to periſh in ſuch a ſituation. Columbus, ſuſpecting a conſpiracy, calmly replied, that it was impoſſible to return to Spain without a veſſel; that both intereſt and duty prompted him to be gone; and that for the gratification of his people, he would ſummon all his officers to conſult on the means of forwarding their wiſhes. This mild remonſtrance had no effect on Porras. He ſaid it was now too late to waſte words; that if the admiral did not immediately embark he might ſtay alone. Then raiſing his voice, he exclaimed, "I am going to Spain with thoſe who are inclined to follow me." By this his adherents joined in the exclamation, and immediately took poſſeſſion of different parts of the ſhip, ſo that uproar and confuſion were univerſal. The noiſe of this tumult rouſed the admiral from his bed of ſickneſs: he ſtarted up, and was only withheld from ruſhing into the midſt of the conſpirators, by the affectionate reſtraints of his ſervants, who dreaded he might be murdered. The lieutenant, after bravely ruſhing out on the mutineers, was diſ-

armed and confined, having cautioned Porras in vain to reflect on his conduct, which would meet with exemplary puniſhment. The ring-leader diſregarding this advice, and ſeizing ten canoes which had been purchaſed of the Indians by Columbus, embarked with all his adherents, who expreſſed the ſame exultation as if they had already been landed in Spain. On this occaſion, ſome who had not joined in the conſpiracy, deſpairing now of relief, deſired to be taken on board, to the infinite ſorrow of the admiral and his few remaining followers. Had the whole been in health, it is probable that none but his brother and his domeſtics would have remained in their duty.

The mutineers coaſting along the eaſt ſide of Jamaica, committed all manner of outrages on the natives, and deſired them to apply for redreſs and indemnity to the admiral, who was the author of all their calamities; and to put him to death, ſhould he deny them ſatisfaction.

Having carried their malice as far as diaboli-cal invention would go, they began their voyage for Hiſpaniola, with ſome Indians, whom they compelled to act as rowers. They had not, however, made four leagues from land, when the wind, which was contrary, began to freſhen, and the ſea to riſe and to fill the canoes. Being unacquainted with the mode of navigating ſuch veſſels, they thought to lighten them by murdering the Indians, and throwing their bodies into the ocean. This inhuman deſign they executed on ſome; others being thrown overboard alive ſwam till they were exhauſted, then hanging by the canoes for breath, the deteſtable monſters cut off their hands; and in this manner eighteen per-

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iſhed. Probably not one would have eſcaped, ad not a few been ſaved out of a cruel charity to arry them back to Jamaica; as they found it mpracticable to proceed. Having relanded on his iſland, a council was held; when ſome prooſed that they ſhould take advantage of the inds and currents to run over to Cuba, whence he paſſage to Hiſpaniola was ſhort: others adiſed attempting to make their peace with the dmiral, but a majority of voices agreed, that fter it became calm, they ſhould purſue their ormer voyage. Having waited a month for a avourable opportunity of leaving the iſland, and nd having made two unſucceſsful efforts, they t laſt marched by land to the weſtward, plunering the natives as they advanced.

The firſt care of the admiral, was to efface the ad impreſſions which the mutineers had made n the Indians, and in this he fortunately ſucceeded; for they ſupplied him with proviſions as efore. His next object was to recover his peole by the ſupplies he could procure for their reief. But the Indians attending no farther to griculture than was abſolutely neceſſary for heir own ſubſiſtence, began to feel a ſcarcity; nd the admiral being in a ſituation that no longer hallenged obedience and reſpect, they became ndifferent about his wants. The ſagacity of olumbus, ever prompt at expedients, ſupplied im with a moſt extraordinary reſource for reieving his character and credit with the ſaages. Knowing by calculations, that in three ays there would be an eclipſe of the moon, he nt an Indian of Hiſpaniola to aſſemble the chiefs f the diſtrict, on an affair of importance to them l. Having obeyed the ſummons, he told them by

his interpreter, that he and his people were Chriſtians, and believed in God who created the heaven and the earth, protected the righteous, and puniſhed the wicked; and therefore would not ſuffer the rebellious Spaniards to paſs over to Hiſpaniola, though he had by his Providence conducted the meſſengers ſent by him, becauſe their deſign was laudable; that the ſame Almighty, and All-juſt being was incenſed againſt the Indians for becoming negligent in ſupplying his people with proviſions, and was determined to puniſh them with plague and famine. As a token of which, they would that very night ſee the moon riſe with an angry and bloody aſpect, to denote the misfortunes that were about to enſue.

As fear or belief operated on the mind, this prophecy had different effects. But when they perceived the moon in reality eclipſed, and darkneſs increaſing as ſhe roſe, univerſal conſternation prevailed. They came running from all quarters, laden with proviſions; and with loud cries and lamentations ſupplicated the admiral to intercede with God in their behalf; and that for the future they would be attentive to all his wants. Having obtained this promiſe, Columbus ſaid he would uſe his influence with the Supreme; and accordingly ſhut himſelf up, while the Indians remained without, howling in the moſt piteous manner, and imploring his aſſiſtance. When he perceived the eclipſe about to decreaſe, he came out, and bad them be of good cheer; his prayers for them had been heard; and that God had forgiven them, on condition of their being kind and hoſpitable to the Chriſtians. In confirmation of this, he aſſured them, they would

would ſpeedily ſee the moon lay aſide her wrathful aſpect, and ſhine with her former ſplendor.

This prognoſtic being verified, they adored the God of the Chriſtians; and ever after continued to ſupply him and his men to the utmoſt of their abilities; for though they muſt have obſerved eclipſes before, they thought it impoſſible to predict them, and therefore conſidered Columbus as an immediate agent of the Deity. On a review of this artifice, we cannot refrain from obſerving, that it was ſtrongly tinctured with impiety and preſumption; but it was ſurely leſs culpable than many which the profeſſed ſervants of the Supreme Being have uſed to promote leſs honourable ends.

Eight months had now elapſed ſince the departure of the meſſengers to Hiſpaniola; and even the firmeſt reſolution began to waver. It was generally ſuppoſed they had periſhed in the ſea, or been maſſacred by the Hiſpaniolan Indians. Theſe apprehenſions were confirmed by the information of ſome of the natives of Jamaica, who ſaid they had ſeen a canoe overſet, driven on the coaſt by the tide. Every day adding ſtrength to fear, a new conſpiracy was formed; at the head of which was one Bernard, an apothecary. The plan was to deſert the admiral in imitation of the former mutineers; but happily this was rendered abortive by the arrival of a ſhip from Hiſpaniola. The captain, whoſe name was James de Eſcobar, having come to an anchor, viſited the admiral with compliments from the governor, who being, he ſaid, unprovided with a ſhip ſufficient for the purpoſe of tranſporting ſo many men, had ſent him a preſent of a caſk of wine and two flitches of bacon. Having delivered this commiſſion,

without waiting for a reply, he weighed anchor, and ſailed again the ſame evening. Though Columbus was ſtung to the ſoul by this abrupt departure, he concealed his emotion; and affected to ſay, that the caraval had ſailed by his directions; becauſe being too ſmall to take the whole party, he was determined they ſhould not be ſeparated. This declaration once more ſilenced the conſpirators. But the truth was, the governor of Hiſpaniola, being jealous leſt Columbus, on his return to Spain, ſhould ſupercede him, had ſent to reconnoitre his ſituation, with a view of deſtroying him. By the arrival of this ſhip, however, Columbus had received undoubted intelligence, that his meſſengers had been able to diſcharge their miſſion; and he indulged the hope, that their remonſtrances would procure him at laſt the wiſhed for relief.

Theſe reſolute adventurers, faithful to their charge, had contended with many difficulties in their paſſage, but at laſt ſurmounted them all. For two days they continued rowing and paddling, during which they ſuſtained the extremes of thirſt, heat, and fatigue; and ſome of the Indians actually died for want of refreſhment. At the end of the ſecond day, they began to ſuſpect that they had miſſed the right courſe, and deſpondency began to ſeize them; but obſerving the moon riſe over-land, which proved to be a ſmall iſland about eight leagues from Hiſpaniola, their hopes revived with the proſpect. For this ſpot they rowed with intenſe efforts; and next morning going aſhore, found it barren and deſolate; but it furniſhed water, of which ſome drank to ſuch an exceſs, as to produce dropſies and other dangerous diſtempers. Having refreſhed

freſhed themſelves in the beſt manner they could, they ſteered their courſe for Cape St. Michael, the neareſt land in Hiſpaniola, where they ſafely arrived. Fieſco, having repoſed himſelf two days, would have returned to the admiral as agreed; but neither ſailors nor Indians would accompany him. As for Mendez, though he laboured under a quartan ague, he ſet out immediately for Xaragua, and ſet forth the admiral's ſituation to the governor; who, after much importunity, gave him permiſſion to purchaſe a ſhip at St. Domingo. This veſſel afterwards ſailed for Jamaica, from whence Columbus dipatched her with packets for their Catholic Majeſties.

A deſire of reconcileation for the benefit of all parties, prompted the admiral to attempt to bring the Porras back to their duty. To enforce his arguments, he ſet before them the proſpect of a ſpeedy voyage to their own country; informing them he had received a promiſe of being relieved by a caraval from Hiſpaniola; and in confirmation of the truth of this, ſent them a part of his preſents. The ring-leaders, dreading a re-union, employed all their eloquence to diſſuade their adherents from accepting the propoſals; and word was ſent back, that they were ready to depart peaceably for Hiſpaniola, if the admiral would furniſh them with a veſſel: or if he had but one, aſſign one half of it for their accommodation; and in the meantime divide the clothes and commodities in his poſſeſſion with them. To this arrogant demand was added a threat, that if he refuſed to comply, they would come and ſtrip him by force.

This menace they actually reſolved to put into execution, and marched down within a ſhort diſ-

tance of the wrecks. Columbus being informed of their intention, detached fifty men well armed, under the command of his brother, enjoining him to expoſtulate with the rebels, and to refrain from hoſtilities, unleſs firſt attacked. The lieutenant having advanced within bow-ſhot of the mutineers, deſired a conference with their captain. This condeſcenſion being aſcribed to fear, was treated with contempt; and they immediately fell upon his men in ſure hopes of victory. Their expectations, however, were diſappointed. At the firſt charge, five out of ſix of the moſt reſolute, who had ſworn to cut their way through, were brought to the ground, and among them the two moſt daring of the conſpirators.

As for their leader, Francis de Porras, he was taken priſoner; when the reſt turned their backs and fled. The lieutenant, having gained a complete victory, returned to the ſhips with his priſoners. Himſelf was wounded in the hand, and another gentleman, being pierced with a ſpear, afterwards died. This was the only loſs that the friends of Columbus ſuſtained. The intrepid pilot, indeed, who ſwam aſhore as formerly mentioned, had a moſt miraculous eſcape for his life. This man being ſpent with wounds, fell over the rocks during the fray, and was not diſcovered till next evening, when ſome Indians found him ſtill alive. His ſkull was laid open, ſo that his brains appeared; his arm was almoſt amputated; the calf of one leg hung by a ligament; and one foot was ſliced from the heal to the toes. Notwithſtanding theſe deſperate wounds, he ſo terrified the Indians who approached him, with curſes and threats, that they fled in the utmoſt conſternation; but the admiral being apprized of his ſituation, ordered

ordered him all the medical assistance in his power, and, to the surprize of every one, he recovered.

To prevent future animosities, and a scarcity of provisions on board, the admiral detained Porras in confinement; and appointed a proper person to command and lead about the captive malecontents, for the convenience of finding subsistence, in exchange for such commodities as they had been supplied with.

All dissensions among the Spaniards being thus composed, the Indians became sensible of the danger of giving them offence; and assiduously supplied them with provisions. A year had now elapsed since the Spaniards were wrecked on Jamaica. The ship which Mendez had purchased, at last arrived; and Columbus, with his whole company, embarked on the 28th of June, and, after a troublesome voyage, reached St. Domingo on the 13th of August 1504. Here the governor received him with the most fawning attentions; but as a proof that his hospitalities were only affectation, he set Porras at liberty, and even threatened to punish those who had been most active in apprehending him. As soon as the admiral's ship had been refitted, and another engaged for the accommodation of his friends, he sailed for Europe on the 2d of September. But before they had been two leagues at sea, the mast of his consort came by the board, on which she was sent back to be repaired, while he proceeded on his voyage.

After being dismasted in a violent storm, and struggling with many difficulties, as well as a fit of the gout, Columbus at last arrived in the port of St. Lucar de Barrameda. He had no sooner landed than he heard, with unspeakable regret, of the death of his munificent patroness, Isabella; a blow

blow which he never recovered. Ferdinand, indeed, treated him with courteous attention; but gave ſtrong intimations, that the terms he had ſtipulated for himſelf were too advantageous, and wiſhed to propoſe coming to a new agreement. This however never took place; the negociations entered into were interrupted by the acceſſion of Philip to the throne of Caſtile, and Columbus, worn out with infirmities and chagrin, yielded up the ghoſt at Valadolid on the 20th of May 1506, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. His remains were conveyed, by the king's order, to Seville, where, ſome authors ſay, he was magnificently interred, in the monaſtery of the Carthuſians; and that a monument was erected to his memory, charged with this inſcription,

A CASTILIA Y A LEON.
NEUVO MUNDO DEO' COLON.

Which may be thus tranſlated,

TO CASTILE AND LEON,
A NEW WORLD WAS GIVEN BY COLUMBUS.

Others aſſert, that his monument only exiſts at Seville; for that his body was buried at St. Domingo, in the chancel of the cathedral; and an article in the public prints from Spain, on the late ceſſion of Hiſpaniola to France, ſeems to confirm this belief. For we read, that the remains of Columbus were to be transferred, with great pomp, from St. Domingo to Cuba.

Such were the adventures and the end of Columbus: a man whom all poſterity will view with admiration, and honour with applauſe. The ingratitude he experienced is the uſual return for ſervices

ſervices too great to be repaid. The pander or the minion of power may receive an adequate reward for his degading ſervilities; but he who eclipſes the ſplendor of an original kingdom by ſuch an acceſſion as a new world, may excite envy, but cannot meet with a due recompence, without being conſidered as a rival to his prince. Perhaps the grand ſource of the misfortunes of Columbus was his indiſcreet ſtipulation for a joint authority in his new diſcoveries. His good ſenſe might have told him, that it was impoſſible to be a partner with a king.

We ſhall conclude the hiſtory of Columbus' voyages, with his character, as delineated by a Spaniſh writer of veracity. "Columbus," ſays he, "was tall of ſtature, had a long viſage, and "a majeſtic aſpect. His noſe was aquiline, his "eyes grey, and his complexion clear and "ruddy. When young, his hair and beard were "fair; but hardſhips ſoon turned them grey. "He was a man of wit and pleaſantry, eloquent "in diſcourſe, yet moderately grave in his de- "portment. His affability to ſtrangers, and his "judicious converſation, gained him the affec- "tion of every ingenuous mind; while an air of "authority and grandeur attracted reſpect. He "was ſtrict in his religious obſervances himſelf, "and obliged thoſe who were under his com- "mand to ſhew at leaſt a decent regard to this "ſacred inſtitution. He had an earneſt con- "cern for the converſion of the Indians, and "endeavoured as much as was in his power to "allure them, by obliging the Spaniards to lead "a life in ſome meaſure correſponding to the "faith they profeſſed. His courage was un- "daunted: he was fond of great enterpriſes,

"temperate

" temperate in living, modeſt in dreſs, patient
" under injuries; and much more anxious to
" bring his enemies to a ſenſe of their offences,
" than to retaliate injuſtice. He remained un-
" moved amidſt the numerous dangers and ad-
" verſities that attended him, ever placing a firm
" reliance on Divine Providence. In ſhort, had
" he lived in earlier times, his conduct and his
" achievements would have procured him ſtatues
" and temples in his honour. He would have
" been ranked with Hercules and Bacchus; and
" a conſtellation perhaps would have borne his
" name. However, he will be remembered as
" long as the world endures."

BIOGRA

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF THE

CABOTS,

AND

THEIR DISCOVERIES.

IT has been already remarked, that Bartholomew Columbus was ſent to Henry VII. of England, to proffer his brother's ſervices; and that theſe were loſt to this country, by the court of Caſtile at laſt cloſing with the propoſals of Columbus himſelf. It ſeems probable, however, that the ambition or curioſity of the Engliſh ſovereign being rouſed by the details that were laid before him, induced him to wiſh to participate in the honours and advantages of Columbus' diſcoveries; if he could not poſſeſs the original title to them.

The patronage of a king will always tempt enterpriſe; and no country is ſo barren in genius and ingenuity, as not to poſſeſs ſome aſpiring minds, to which royal protection and encouragement can communicate an enthuſiaſm to dare or to ſuffer.

Sebaſtian Cabot was born at Briſtol, in 1467. His father was a native of Venice; and he educated his ſon in all thoſe branches of mathematical learning to which commerce had then given

celebrity. Before Sebaſtian was twenty years of age, he had performed ſeveral voyages, and, by thus adding practice to theory, he early became eminent in the ſcience of navigation.

The firſt voyage of importance in which Sebaſtian Cabot was engaged, ſeems to have been that made by his father John, who had obtained a commiſſion from Henry VII. for a diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage to India, the favourite object of Columbus. They ſailed from Briſtol in the ſpring of 1494, and purſuing their courſe with favouring gales, on the 24th of June ſaw Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prima Viſta, or Firſt Seen. Going aſhore, on a ſmall iſland on this coaſt, they gave it the appellation of St. John's, from its being diſcovered on the day dedicated to St. John the Baptiſt. The iſland was barren; but the ſea abounded with fiſh. The natives were dreſſed in ſkins, and armed with bows, arrows, pikes, wooden clubs, darts, and ſlings. They returned to England with three ſavages on board, made a report of their diſcoveries, and met with a gracious reception. Cabot, the father, dying ſoon after, a new patent was granted to his ſon Sebaſtian, who ſet ſail again on the 4th of May 1497, before Columbus commenced his third voyage. He ſailed as high as 67 deg. 30 min. north latitude, proceeding from thence down to 56 deg. and then explored the coaſt of America as low as 38 deg. This part of the continent, he expreſsly ſays, was afterwards named Florida. His proviſions beginning to be exhauſted, he ſailed back; and, touching at Newfoundland, returned to England with a full cargo of the productions of the countries he had viſited.

It

It is probable that Sebaſtian Cabot made ſeveral voyages to complete his diſcovery of the coaſt of Newfoundland. A map of his diſcoveries, drawn by himſelf, with his effigies annexed, was hung up in the private gallery at Whitehall.

Purchas, with the partiality of a man who feels for the honour of his country, expreſſes ſome indignation, that the new world ſhould be called America, when Cabot diſcovered its continent before Americus Veſputius, or even Columbus himſelf.

Newfoundland was certainly the firſt of our plantations; and the ſpirit of enterpriſe, to which the diſcoveries of Cabot gave riſe, paved the way to the naval power, the commerce, and the glory of this nation. While Spain was debilitated and rendered indolent by the riches poured into her boſom, from the diſcoveries of Columbus, it was the better fortune of England to ſecure a ſoil and climate which gave a new ſtimulus to exertion, and rendered her ſons more hardy and more brave.

Of the hiſtory of a man, who indubitably firſt diſcovered the continent of America, every trace is intereſting to a Briton. But, for the ſpace of twenty years, no veſtiges of his labours appear. In the eighth year of Henry VIII. he again appears on the ſtage: he was then furniſhed with a good ſhip of the king's, to proſecute diſcoveries, through the intereſt of Sir Thomas Pert, vice-admiral of England. It ſeems he had then altered his plan; and intended to ſail by the ſouth to the Eaſt Indies. For this purpoſe he proceeded to Braſil: but failing in his deſign, he ſhaped his courſe for Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico; and after carrying on ſome traffic there, returned to Eng-

land without much increaſing his former reputation.

Diſappointed, and probably neglected in conſequence of his failure, he left England, and entered into the ſervice of Spain, in which he roſe to the higheſt rank, and ſignalized himſelf in many hazardous attempts to promote the views of his employers. Fortune, however, frowned upon him. In an intended voyage to the Moluccas, through the Straights of Magellan, his men became mutinous, and his project was fruſtrated. He, however, ſailed up the rivers Plata and Paraguay, built ſeveral forts, and diſcovered and reduced a rich and fertile tract of country under the dominion of Spain. After ſpending five years in America, he returned in chagrin, and met but with a cold reception.

Theſe circumſtances conſpired to make him anxious to return to his native country: about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. he he again ſettled at Briſtol.

A ſpirit of commerce beginning to be diffuſed in England, Cabot, in 1552, was active in an enterpriſe to fit out ſome ſhips for the diſcovery of the northern parts of the world; and thereby to open new ſcenes of action, and new channels for traffic. The expedition took place with the patronage of government; and this was the firſt voyage made to Ruſſia, and the foundation of that intercourſe which has ſince ſubſiſted between the two nations. Upon this firſt ſucceſs, a Ruſſian company was formed, of which Cabot was conſtituted governor for life.

After an active life, ſpent in the moſt honourable purſuits, and chiefly employed in the ſervice of his country, he died upwards of ſeventy years of age

age. Though his fame muſt be allowed to be far inferior to that juſtly due to Columbus, his claims, as an original diſcoverer, were infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of Americus Veſputius. But fortune, ſeconded by caprice, have given the latter a name, which we ſhall now ſee was neither merited nor juſt.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS,

AND HIS

DISCOVERIES.

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS was deſcended from an ancient and honourable family at Florence, where he was born in 1451. He early diſcovered a taſte for philoſophy, mathematics, and navigation. The diſcoveries of the Portugueſe had called the attention of the ſtudious to a more intimate acquaintance with thoſe branches of literature which are connected with the natural hiſtory of the earth and of mankind; and had animated the enterpriſing to ſignalize themſelves in the line of adventure, which they had pointed out, and to which the genius of a Columbus had juſt given an eclat that never could be ſuppoſed.

We have obſerved, that after the return of this great man from his ſecond voyage, the malice of his enemies and the jealouſy of the court began to ſhew itſelf. Alonzo de Ojeda, an officer who had ſailed with him, having joined his intereſt with Americus Veſputius, who burned with an impatience to partake the glory of the admiral, clandeſtinely obtained from the Biſhop of Burgos the draughts and plans which he had depoſited in the hands of that prelate, by order of their Catholic Majeſties; and being furniſhed with four

four ſhips, according to ſome writers, ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 20th of May, 1497. Veſputius, whoſe ſuperior rank or addreſs ſeemed to have made him conſidered as the principal, fell in with the coaſt of Paria, and ran along it as far as Terra Firma and the Gulph of Mexico; and, after an abſence of eighteen months, returned to Spain. He did not pretend to diſpute with Columbus the original diſcovery of the Weſt Indies; but wiſhed to have it believed, that he had firſt found out the continent. To effectuate this, he is ſaid to have falſified dates, for which he has been ſeverely cenſured; and being an excellent geographer and draftſman, as well as a plauſible writer, he blended different accounts together; and impoſing on the greateſt part of Europe, gained an honour to which he had no right; that of giving his name to the new world. But no doubt now remains to whom this diſtinction ought to have been due; and though we muſt allow that America, as the name of a quarter of the globe, aſſimulates better with the reſt than Columbia would have done; had the firſt diſcoverer of the continent been entitled to beſtow an appellation on it, we have ſeen that this belonged to neither, but to Cabot.

Some months having elapſed, after the return of Americus Veſputius from his firſt voyage, he performed a ſecond with ſix ſhips, under the auſpices of Ferdinand and Iſabella. It ſeems, however, that the ſemblance of juſtice to Columbus was kept up in the commiſſion which Americus and other following adventurers received; they were interdicted from coming to an anchor within fifty leagues of any place where that navigator had touched.

In this ſecond voyage, or as ſome will have it, the firſt, Americus proceeded to the Antilla iſlands, and from thence to the coaſts of Guiano and Venezuela; and returned ſafe to Cadiz in the month of November 1500; bringing back with him many precious ſtones and other valuable commodities, diſcovered in the courſe of his expedition. His ſervices were as ill requited by the Spaniards as thoſe of the man he wiſhed to rival and ſupplant; and the ingratitude he experienced made him willing to abandon the intereſt of that country.

Emanuel, King of Portugal, hearing of the diſaffection of Americus, and jealous of the ſucceſs of their Catholic Majeſties, held out propoſals to this navigator, which were readily accepted.

Engaged in the ſervice of Portugal, Americus ſet ſail from Liſbon with three ſhips in May 1501. He firſt ran down the coaſt of Africa as far as the coaſt of Angola, and then ſtanding over for the American continent, fell in with the Braſils, which he entirely diſcovered and explored as far as Patagonia to the ſouth, and the river La Plata north. He then ſailed back to Sierra Leona; and keeping along the coaſt of Guinea, returned to Liſbon, after a voyage of ſixteen months.

His Portugueſe Majeſty, elated with this ſucceſs, and grateful to its author, ſoon equipped ſix ſhips, of which he gave Americus the command, to proſecute farther diſcoveries. In this new voyage, it was his intention to ſtand along the coaſt of America to the ſouth, in order to diſcover a paſſage to the Molucca iſlands by the weſt. He examined the coaſt from the Bay of All Saints, as far as the river Curabado; but being furniſh-

ed

ed with provisions for no more than twenty months, and being detained by contrary winds five months on the coast he had discovered, he was obliged to return to Portugal. He died at Tercera in 1514; and is deservedly ranked among the most celebrated navigators.

DISCOVERIE

DISCOVERIES OF THE SPANIARDS,

FROM THE DEATH OF COLUMBUS,

TO THE

EXPEDITION OF

HERNANDO CORTEZ.

IN the old world, the barbarians deſolated the abodes of civilization and ſcience; in the new, he ſons of knowledge deſolated the country of he barbarians, and almoſt exterminated themelves.

At the recital of the enormities practiſed by the paniards on the natives of the Weſt Indies, humaity turns pale, and the real Chriſtian ſhudders to ink, that perſons, pretending a belief in the mild ctates of religion, ſhould diſgrace it by ſuch flarant cruelties. No ſooner was Columbus dead an the ſucceeding governors, who were geneally nominated by the court of Spain, in conmpt of the rights of his poſterity, endeavoured purchaſe the ſame advantages by the blood of e inhabitants, which that great and amiable an had obtained by his good ſenſe and humaty. Theſe iſlands were replete with mines of ld, the real ſituations of which were known to e Indians alone. The accurſed paſſion of avace, for which even the natural infirmities of an does not furniſh a temptation or an excuſe, too

too furious to ſeek the gentle means of perſuaſion, hurried on the Spaniards to acts of the moſt ſhocking violence and barbarity, againſt all who were ſuſpected of concealing their treaſures. The ſlaughter once begun, no bounds were ſet to its rage. Hiſpaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants, was depopulated in a few years; and Cuba, which had ſix hundred thouſand, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate. Bartholomew de la Caſas, an eye witneſs of thoſe worſe than Gothic depopulations, ſays, that the Spaniards went out with dogs to hunt after men. The unhappy ſavages, almoſt naked and unarmed, were purſued like wild beaſts into dens and foreſts, worried by dogs, deſtroyed by ſhot, or ſurpriſed and burnt in their habitations.

But let us turn from this diſgraceful view to the progreſs of diſcovery. At the time of the demiſe of Columbus, Nicholas de Obando was governor of Hiſpaniola. He had ſignalized his diligence by ſurveys of the coaſts, and his inhumanity, by dividing the Indians among the Spaniards, by whom they were at beſt conſidered as ſlaves. Gold was the univerſal purſuit; and though there was more than one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling annually produced from this iſland, it was far from ſatisfying the covetouſneſs of thoſe who were employed in amaſſing it.

Juan Ponce de Leon was commander of a province under Obando; and being informed by the Indians that gold was plentiful in Porto Rico, he obtained a licence from the governor to coloniz it. While thus employed, Don Diego Columbu came out as his father's ſucceſſor, to take upo himſelf the government of Hiſpaniola; and ha

brough

brought with him from Spain a new governor for Porto Rico. Ponce diſputing his authority, the young admiral ſet them both aſide, and inveſted Michael Cerron with that office. However, Ponce, by intriguing with the enemies of the family of Columbus, procured a commiſſion from Spain for ſeizing Cerron, whom he ſent priſoner to Spain. Ponce now ſet about conquering the iſland; and notwithſtanding the kindneſs with which the Indians had treated him, he firſt enſlaved, and then nearly exterminated them.

Cerron, ſupported by the repreſentations of Columbus, again prevailed; and was ſent back to poſſeſs his former employment. Ponce, thus reduced to the rank of a private man, fitted out two ſhips for making new diſcoveries; and on the 2d of April 1512, fell in with land unknown to the Spaniards, in latitude 30 deg. 8 min. and believing it to be an iſland, named it Florida, from its beautiful appearance.

About the ſame time, Alonzo de Ojeda, who had ſerved under Chriſtopher Columbus, being deſirous of making new ſettlements, obtained a grant of all the land which had been diſcovered on the continent; but Diego Nicueſſa, a man of ſuperior wealth interpoſing, came in for a moiety of the grant. The court of Spain allowed the former all the country called Andaluſia, and the latter that of Golden Caſtile. In theſe arrangements the claims of the younger Columbus, to whom they belonged in right of his father's diſcovery, were entirely overlooked.

Each of theſe adventurers fitting out two veſſels, ſoon began to quarrel about their reſpective rights; but having adjuſted their diſputes, they left Hiſpaniola towards the end of 1510. Ojeda

in a few days arrived at Carthagena, where the Indians prepared to oppoſe him; being irritated by ſome injuries they had received from ſeveral Spaniſh adventurers. They were men of large ſtature, and both ſexes were extremely expert with the bow. Ojeda, by means of ſome prieſts and interpreters, endeavoured to pacify them and to prevail on them to ſubmit to the Spaniſh yoke, and to adopt its religion. He then attempted to open a traffic with them; but finding them irreconcileable, he fell upon them, killed numbers, took their town, and ſeized all the gold he could find. He then marched four leagues within land; but having divided his men into ſmall parties, they were every where cut off with flights of poiſoned arrows. Ojeda and another were the only ſurvivors of ſeventy perſons who had landed.

Happily for this adventurer, his partner Nicueſſa now appeared on the coaſt; and being informed of the calamity, generouſly told his rival that they ought to bury their animoſities in oblivion, and unite in revenging the death of their countrymen. They accordingly landed four hundred men, and, marching againſt the Indians, burnt one of their towns, captured a conſiderable number, and poſſeſſed themſelves of abundance of gold.

Having obtained this victory, they ſeparated to purſue their reſpective plans. Ojeda fixed a ſettlement on the eaſtern promontory of the iſthmus of Darien; and called the town St. Sebaſtian. Soon finding that the natives were exaſperated at this infringement of their territorial rights, he diſpatched one of his captains to Hiſpaniola for a ſupply of men and proviſions; and

n the meanwhile drew intrenchments round he town. However, being ſoon in want of neeſſaries, he was obliged to make excurſions into he country, by which he loſt many of his men; nd notwithſtanding the arrival of conſiderable einforcements and ſuccours, they were ſoon gain reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. Hunger orced them out; while the Indians conſtantly rove them back with loſs.

From this diſtreſſing ſituation, the dexterity nd preſence of mind of a perſon named Nunez e Balboa, ſerved to relieve them. This perſon as of a good family and poſſeſſed great abilities. He had formerly ſailed along that coaſt, and had fterwards obtained a reſpectable ſettlement in Hiſpaniola. But having committed ſome irreularities, he was in danger of being put to eath. In this dilemma, he contrived to be put n board the ſhip ſent to Hiſpaniola for ſuccours, n a bread caſk; and having remained there ome days, at laſt ventured to make his appearnce. The captain, whoſe name was Enciſo, as ſtartled at the ſight. He had been ordered ot to give any protection to offenders; and hough what had happened, was without his nowledge, he threatened to ſet Nunez aſhore n the firſt deſert place he came to. The intereſſion of the principal perſons on board prevaild in his favour, and Enciſo was pacified.

Nunez obſerving that the company were in deair, wiſhed to ingratiate and diſtinguiſh himelf. He told them, that they had no reaſon to eſpond; that at the bottom of the gulph there as a very large town in a fruitful ſoil, and a ne climate; that the Indians, though warlike,

did not make uſe of poiſoned arrows; and to conclude, he adviſed them to ſail thither.

This reſolution being adopted, they ſailed to the river Darien, and found the deſcription of Nunez verified. The cacique and his people, hearing that the Spaniards were approaching, ſecured their wives and children; and with five hundred men took their ſtand on a ſmall eminence. The Spaniards fell upon them with impetuoſity; inſtantly put them to flight; and entering their town, found it full of proviſions. The plunder they met with was conſiderable; and ſo great was the trepidation of the Indians, that they retired a conſiderable way from the ſhore.

The ſucceſs of this enterpriſe gained the projector much reputation. It was unanimouſly agreed to ſettle a colony here, and to call it St. Mary the ancient of Darien.

Nunez now plotted to be revenged on Enciſo for his threat, and this officer forwarded the ſcheme againſt himſelf, by ordering that none of the company ſhould trade with the Indians for gold, on pain of death. This gave riſe to a ſuggeſtion, that Enciſo wiſhed to monopolize this valuable metal to himſelf; and ſo artfully did Nunez work on the paſſions and prejudices of the party, that it was reſolved to throw off all allegiance to Enciſo. To give a colour to their conduct, they pretended that his authority was expired; as they were now out of the limits of Ojeda's government, from whom he had received his appointment. They now choſe magiſtrates like thoſe in Spain, at the head of whom was Nunez; but ſoon diſliking this form of govern-

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ment, new diſputes aroſe which were, however, terminated by the arrival of Colmenares with two ſhips, laden with proviſions and military ſtores, intended for Nicueſſa.

Colmenares had put into a port about ſixty leagues diſtance from this place, where ſending his men on ſhore to water, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Indians, who wounded forty-five of the Spaniards with poiſoned arrows, and ſtaved the boat. All the wounded died, ſave one. This officer expecting to have found either Ojeda's or Nicueſſa's party on the eaſt ſide of the bay, was ſurpriſed, and began to be apprehenſive they were all dead. He, however, ordered ſome pieces of cannon to be fired, and fires to be lighted on the tops of the rocks, as a ſignal that their friends were on the coaſt. Theſe being obſerved and repeated by the ſettlement at Santa Maria, Colmenares ſteered for the place; and making a liberal diſtribution of proviſions among them without diſtinction, prevailed on them to ſubmit to the government of Nicueſſa.

That gentleman, after parting with Alonzo de Ojeda, met with a violent tempeſt, when Lopez de Olana, his lieutenant, perceiving the ſhips ſeparated, conceived the deſign of deſerting his patron; but failing in his project of making himſelf independent, he ſailed to Veragua, the place of rendezvous, where he endeavoured to perſuade the people to return to Hiſpaniola, alleging, that Nicueſſa muſt have periſhed. Meanwhile a ſhallop brought intelligence that he was ſtranded on the coaſt; and was now in a miſerable ſituation. The heart of Olana relented at this intelligence. He immediately ſent back the ſhallop with neceſſaries and refreſhments, which ſaved Nicueſſa

and his men from periſhing. Nevertheleſs he clapped his lieutenant in irons for his perfidious intentions, and threatened to ſend him to Spain.

Nicueſſa now eſtabliſhed a colony on the banks of the river Bethlem, where Columbus had formerly made an abortive attempt; but proviſions ſoon failing, he ſailed from thence with a part of his men for Porto Bello. Here the Indians oppoſed his landing; on which he proceeded to Nombre de Dios, where he began to erect a fortreſs.

The ſame fatality attended him here. He was ſoon obliged to ſend to Columbus, requeſting aſſiſtance; but ſcarce was the veſſel departed when Colmenares arrived to his relief. This captain was ſo affected at ſeeing the diſtreſſed and miſerable appearance of Nicueſſa and his people, that he could not refrain from ſhedding tears. He ſtrove all in his power to comfort and aſſiſt them; and told Nicueſſa the favourable proſpects that awaited him at Santa Maria.

This ſerved to revive his fainting ſpirits; but forgetting his wretched condition, and the gratitude he owed that party for their voluntary acceptance of him as governor, was ſo elated and imprudent as to declare, that he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of their gold, and puniſh them alſo for preſuming to ſettle within his territory. An infatuation ſeemed to attend him. He ſtruck out of his way to view ſome iſlands; and one of his ſhips getting the ſtart of him, gave the fatal information to the colony; and it was determined he ſhould not be ſuffered to land.

After an imprudent and unneceſſary delay, he anchored at Santa Maria; when with ſurpriſe he found their determination to reject him. He now

now changed his tone and ſupplicated they would hear him. He even ventured aſhore for that purpoſe, but was obliged to ſeek ſafety by flight. His next attempt was to ſoften them, by beſeeching they would accept him as a companion, if they diſclaimed his authority; and on that failing, he even implored they would detain him as a priſoner, as he would rather die than return to Nombre de Dios. Notwithſtanding this humiliation, they cruelly forced him and ſeventeen of his men into an old rotten bark, and they were heard of no more.

While we blame this man's imprudence, we cannot help pitying his fate. He had ſhewn ſome generoſity to a rival, and it is not likely he would have made an improper uſe of his power over friends. Nunez de Balboa now took the lead, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his good conduct. He made ſome important diſcoveries; and was the firſt European who had a view of the Great South Sea, which paved the way to the conqueſt of Peru.

We will now briefly detail the events that led to the conqueſt of Mexico. Though all the commiſſions beſtowed on the above adventurers were ſo many infringements of the original patent granted to Columbus, his ſon was even blamed for not ſuccouring them as much as lay in his power. A conſtant jealouſy attended his ſteps; and of this he was ſo ſenſible, that he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, to ſecure to himſelf thoſe countries to which he had legal pretenſions, in virtue of his father's contract.

Being informed that the court of Spain was deſirous of planting a colony in Cuba, he reſolved to anticipate the meaſure; and for this purpoſe made

made choice of James Velaſquez, the wealthieſt and moſt reſpected of all the inhabitants in Hiſpaniola, to conduct the enterprize. But before we proceed, it may entertain our readers to give them an anecdote of one of the cacique's of Cuba, on hearing of the intended colony. This man aſſembled the moſt warlike of his people with due ſolemnity; and reminding them of the ſufferings they had endured under the tyranny of the Spaniards, told them that the whites committed all theſe outrages for the ſake of a great lord, of whom they were very fond, and whom he would ſhew them. Then taking ſome gold out of a little baſket, he added, "This is the lord whom they "adore; him they follow, and are now coming "hither in ſearch of him. Let us therefore make "a feſtival and dance to him, that when they come, "he may enjoin them not to hurt us." They accordingly began to dance and ſing. At laſt Hatuey, for that was the cacique's name, admoniſhed the aſſembly; that though they ſhould conceal this lord of the Chriſtians in their very bowels, the Spaniards would find him out; and that the beſt way was to caſt him into the midſt of the river, which was immediately performed.

No ſooner were the Spaniards in Hiſpaniola informed, that Valaſquez was going to colonize Cuba, than many of them reſolved to accompany him. About three hundred men having aſſembled, they embarked on board four ſhips; and in November 1511, landed at a port called Palina, in the territories of the facetious Hatuey. This cacique ſtood upon the defenſive, taking advantage of the woods, where the Spaniſh horſe could not penetrate. In this manner the warfare was carried on for two months. The Indians hid themſelves

themſelves in the moſt retired foreſts; but wherever they appeared, they were hunted like wild beaſts. Hatuey at laſt withdrew to the moſt inacceſſible places; but having had the misfortune to be taken, he was ordered by the worſe than ſavage Velaſquez to be burnt alive. After this inhuman example of ſeverity, the Indians yielded to their fate.

The governor now divided the native Indians among the ſettlers, as Obando had done before at Hiſpaniola; and founded a town on the north ſide of the iſland at a place called Barracoa.

A party from Jamaica ſoon joined the ſettlers in Cuba. Among the reſt came a gentleman named Pamphilio de Narvaez with thirty archers under his command, who was well received by Velaſquez, and ſent into the province of Bayamo, a fine champaign country, at fifty leagues diſtance. While on the road, he and his party were attacked in the night by a conſiderable body of the natives; but Pamphilio mounting his horſe, they were ſo terrified at the ſight of that noble animal, which they had never ſeen before, that they fled into a diſtant part of the country; and Velaſquez ſending a detachment to join Narvaez, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of the whole province.

When Cuba was firſt planted, it was ſo overrun with woods, that a perſon might travel near ſeven hundred miles under the ſhade of various kinds of trees, particularly red cedars, of which the natives made canoes, capable of containing fifty or ſixty men.

For ſome time, after the Spaniards ſettled here, they found pure gold in the rivers abundantly; but this ſoon began to fail. This iſland however

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is ſtill one of the moſt important belonging to the crown of Spain. Its principal towns are now St. Jago and the Havannah.

Velaſquez having eſtabliſhed his power in Cuba, was ambitious of proving himſelf independent of Columbus, under whom he had hitherto acted. This gentleman being recalled into Spain, endeavoured to oppoſe his views; but with ſo little ſucceſs, as it was the policy of the court to thwart his meaſures, that Velaſquez could not be diſplaced without the conſent of the crown, though it was held, that he was ſtill accountable to Columbus for the exerciſe of his power.

Velaſquez having now little to fear, turned his attention to diſcoveries. Many of the opulent Spaniſh ſettlers entered into his deſigns, and among the reſt Francis Hernandez de Cordova, who offered his ſervices as captain. His propoſal being accepted, two ſhips and a brigantine, with one hundred and ten ſoldiers ſailed from the Havannah, on the 8th of February 1517. After a voyage of twenty days, they ſaw land; and coming near the ſhore, they obſerved a large town, and two canoes full of men approaching to meet them. The Spaniards, hailing the Indians, about thirty of them went on board the commodore. Theſe people wore a light cotton dreſs. They were hoſpitably entertained, and received ſmall preſents, which ſo pleaſed them, that they intimated they would return next day with more canoes to carry the Spaniards on aſhore.

According to their promiſe they returned with twelve canoes, on board of which was the cacique, who cried out in his native tongue, "Come to my houſe," or Conez Cotoche, from which the place was called Cape Cotoche. An infinite

infinite number of natives attended the landing of the Spaniards; and wonder and admiration ſeemed depicted in every face. Cordova, with a view of ſeeing the country, was reſolved to accept the cacique's imitation; but he had not proceeded far before the Indians, on a ſignal from the chief, ſtarted from an ambuſcade, and began to attack the Spaniards with ſhowers of ſtones and arrows. Theſe people were dreſſed in cotton jackets, well quilted: they had wooden ſwords edged with flint, ſpears, bows and arrows, ſlings, and targets; their heads were adorned with plumes; and their faces were painted of various colours. After the firſt diſcharge, they boldly ruſhed on the Spaniards; but the fire-arms to which they had been unaccuſtomed, ſoon threw them in diſorder; and they fled with the loſs of ſeveral men. In this ſkirmiſh two youths were taken, who afterwards bore the Chriſtian names of Julian and Melchior.

Notwithſtanding this treacherous reception, the Spaniards were highly delighted to have diſcovered a people who ſhewed ſome ſigns of civilization, and who had made ſuch progreſs in the uſeful arts, that they could build houſes of lime and ſtone. They now proceeded along the coaſt for fifteen days, when they entered a bay called Campeche to water. Having filled their caſks, they were about to return to the ſhips; when a party of fifty Indians meeting them; aſked if they came from the riſing of the ſun, and then conducted them to ſome temples erected of ſtone, containing ſeveral ſhapeleſs idols, ſprinkled with recent blood. From one of theſe temples deſcended two men in white mantles, with their long black hair twiſted up, who held little earthen fire-pans, into which they caſt a certain odorous gum. Having thus

thus perfumed the Spaniards, they ordered them to depart the country on pain of death.

Proceeding along the coaſt for ſix days more, they again landed, to water, in the vicinity of a town called Potanchan, whence they obſerved a body of armed men advancing towards them; but as night was approaching, they ſeemed to retire to the town. On this the Spaniards imprudently remained on the ſhore during the night; but in the morning, found themſelves entirely ſurrounded by a numerous army. Alarmed at this ſituation, they were convinced that nothing but deſperation could ſave them; and they reſolved to exert all their powers. As ſoon as it was light, the Indians began the charge with ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones, by which about eighty Spaniards were wounded, among whom was Cordova. Finding it impoſſible to prevail againſt ſuch an immenſe hoſt, and hemmed in on all ſides, the Spaniards cut their way through to the boats, while the Indians purſued them into the water with hideous yells. In this diſaſterous encounter forty-ſeven Spaniards were killed; and all, ſave one, were wounded. It was immediately reſolved to burn one of the ſhips for want of hands, and to return to Cuba.

In conſequence of the late unfortunate affray, they had been obliged to leave their caſks on ſhore; and the want of water began ſoon to be moſt ſeverely felt. Some of the ſoundeſt of the men being landed, to fill their jars, could find none but what was brackiſh; this obliged them to ſteer for Florida. Here having landed near a creek and dug pits, they found pure wholeſome water; but while they were engaged in waſhing linen for the wounded and laying in ſuch a ſtock

of the neceſſary fluid, as they had conveniencies for carrying, an alarm was given, that the Indians were upon them. This was too true: numbers of canoes were proceeding down the creek, filled with armed men, clothed in deer ſkins. Theſe let fly their arrows, and wounded ſix of the Spaniards; but perceiving the dreadful effects of muſkets and croſs brows, they fled to their canoes; and the Spaniards returned unmoleſted to the ſhip. After ſuffering all that human nature can endure from drought, and encountering many perils, they at laſt reached the Havannah, from whence Cordova, having tranſmitted an account of his unfortunate expedition to Governor Velaſquez, died of his wounds in a few days after.

The intelligence which Velaſquez received was ſo gratifying, that it inſpired him with the reſolution of purſuing diſcoveries, among a people comparatively civilized; and therefore comparatively richer than any yet known on this continent. His reſolution was encouraged by many of the principal perſons under his government; and three ſhips and a brigantine were ſpeedily equipped.

John Grijalva was appointed commodore of this ſquadron, with orders to proſecute diſcoveries, but to make no ſettlements. He ſailed from Cuba on the 8th of May 1518, viſited the coaſt of Florida, diſcovered the iſland of Cozumel, and ſailed along the continent to the town of Potanchan. Here the natives feeling elated by their ſucceſs againſt Cordova, took up arms; but being ſpeedily routed, the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of their town, where they found only three perſons remaining, who were liberally treated, and diſmiſſed to join their countrymen.

Continuing their courſe by day, and lying by in the night, at laſt they diſcovered a large river, but ſo ſhallow that it would not admit of ſhips of burden. This the Spaniards named Rio de Grijalva, and ſailing up it in ſome boats, ſoon perceived the Indians watching their motions, with fifty canoes full of armed men. Both parties ſeemed jealous of each other: at laſt the Spaniards ſent two Indian converts, Julian and Melchior, to inform the Indians that they were come on buſineſs, which they truſted would be mutually agreeable. On this ſome of the Indians drew near, when the interpreters were ordered to inform them, that the Spaniards were the ſubjects of a great king, to whom mighty princes paid obedience; that it would be for their advantage to put themſelves under his protection, and in the meantime to ſupply them, his ſubjects, with proviſions. To theſe propoſals the natives prudently replied, that they would furniſh them with proviſions; but having a king of their own, they could not ſee what right ſtrangers had to wiſh to impoſe a new one on them. They warned them to beware of incenſing a people who had twenty-four thouſand armed men; and gave them to underſtand, that they would not be ſo eaſily managed as the inhabitants of Potanchan. They concluded with obſerving, that they would faithfully report what they had heard to their chiefs, who were now aſſembled to decide on peace or war. The commodore made them ſome preſents, and charged them to return with an anſwer, or he ſhould be obliged to enter their town, though not with an hoſtile intention.

The deputies having delivered their meſſage from the Spaniards, it ſeems the chiefs though

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peace preferable to war; and therefore ſent a number of their people laden with fiſh, poultry, bread, and fruit for the uſe of the ſhips. Theſe being freed from their burdens, ſpread their mats on the ground, and covered them with ſome beautiful works in feathers. They then communicated to the Spaniards, that it was the intention of their lord to viſit the ſhips on the morrow.

At the time appointed, the cacique appeared with a numerous retinue, unarmed; and without ſhewing any ſymptoms of jealouſy, went on board Grijalva's ſhip. The commodore was a genteel young man, and had on a looſe coat of crimſon velvet, a cap of the ſame, and other rich ornaments of dreſs. He received the chief with reſpect; and both ſitting down, a conference by means of interpreters began. After ſome time the cacique roſe; and ordering a trunk to be produced, took from it plates of gold, and boards covered with gold for armour; and trying the different pieces on Grijalva, at laſt fitted him with a complete ſuit of golden armour, preſenting him at the ſame time with various ornaments in feathers and gold.

The commodore then put a very fine ſhirt on the cacique, and his own coat of crimſon velvet. He likewiſe furniſhed him with a new pair of ſhoes, ſome ſtrings of beads, and other trinkets, moſt eſtimable in the eyes of Indians. The attendants of the cacique alſo came in for a ſhare of theſe preſents.

The richneſs of the armour with which Grijalva had been inveſted, amounting to no leſs than three thouſand pieces of eight, ſtimulated the avarice of the Spaniards; and made them

eager to ſettle in a country ſo productive of wealth.

The commodore, unwilling to offend the natives by a protracted ſtay, proceeded farther; and came to a town named Agualunco, where the inhabitants appeared at a diſtance carrying targets of tortoiſeſhell, which glittering in the ſun, gave the Spaniards the idea they were gold.

Sailing from thence, they ſaw ſeveral ſpacious rivers, and in one of them the Indians waving pieces of white cloth affixed to poles, as if inviting them to land. On this a captain and ſome muſketeers were ſent aſhore, with orders to give notice, if the natives put themſelves in a warlike poſture.

It may be proper to obſerve, that the Spaniards were now within the confines of the potent empire of Mexico; the throne of which was then filled by Montezuma. This prince hearing of the exploits of the Spaniards, and the deſire they ſhewed to explore countries over which they had no right, began to be apprehenſive and vigilant. He therefore gave directions to his governors to entertain theſe ſtrangers with civility, to penetrate as far as poſſible into their views, and to tranſmit him an account of all their motions.

In conformity to theſe inſtructions, no ſooner were the Spaniards landed than the Mexicans offered them fowls, bread, and fruit; and perfumed them with gum copal in a fire-pan. Montejo, the captain of the Spaniſh party ſent intelligence to the commodore, in what manner he was received; on which he brought up the ſhips, and landed his men. Grijalva was treated with great reſpect: a traffic with the Indians commenced; and

and in ſix days, the Spaniards procured, by barter, as much gold as was valued at fifteen thouſand pieces of eight.

The commodore having made ſome preſents of inſignificant value to the principal perſons, took poſſeſſion of the country for the King of Spain. He then embarked, and paſſing ſeveral iſlands, landed in one where he found a temple containing ſeveral idols, and four prieſts dreſſed in black mantles, who had that very day ſacrificed two boys, who were diſcovered with their hearts torn out; a piece of cruelty which ſhocked even the ſanguinary Spaniards.

Grijalva, tarrying at this iſland ſeveral days, thought proper to diſpatch Alverado, one of his officers, to Velaſquez with news of his diſcoveries, and all the valuables he had obtained from the Indians. Velaſquez, notwithſtanding his ſucceſs, received an unfavourable impreſſion of the commodore, through the artifices of Alverado, who wiſhed to plant a colony among the new diſcoveries.

In the meanwhile, Grijalva coaſting along, came to the mouth of the river Tarala, to which he gave the appellation of St. Anthony. Here he careened his ſhip; and began a traffic with the Indians for gold. Some of them brought very bright copper axes, which the Spaniards miſtaking for gold, purchaſed ſix hundred of them; and the natives were ſo well pleaſed with the returns they obtained, that they would have willingly parted with their whole ſtock. Thus avarice for once was caught in its own ſnare.

From this place the commodore ſet ſail for Cuba direct: and in forty-five days arrived at the port of Melancas, with gold to a conſiderable

amount, excluſive of what he had forwarded by Alverado. In this port he received a letter from Velaſquez, ordering him to expedite his return to St. Jago, where another expedition was fitting out. When he arrived here, he met with a reception very inadequate to his deſerts and his faithful ſervices: he found himſelf ſuperſeded, and Hernando Cortez appointed to the command of the new undertaking.

BRIEF

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONQUEST OF MEXICO,

BY

HERNANDO CORTEZ.

HAVING traced the diſcoveries of the Spaniards, from the iſlands to the continent of America, it does not fall within the province we have aſſumed, to particularize every ſettlement or minute diſcovery, nor to mark the progreſſive ſteps by which the principal nations of Europe apportioned, among themſelves, countries over which they had no right, and which they in general plundered and depopulated with unfeeling avarice and barbarity.

There was ſomething, however, ſo ſtupendous in the conqueſts of Mexico and Peru, that mankind muſt ever feel an intereſt in the recital. The hiſtory of thoſe events is as honourable to European courage and capacity, as it is diſgraceful to the principles and conduct of the chief actors on the ſtage. In vain ſhall the nations of Europe plume themſelves on ſuperior refinement; in vain ſhall they boaſt of a pure religion and a correct ſyſtem of morals, while they feel no compunction in enſlaving the ignorant ſavage, in monopolizing his wealth, or in occupying his land.

land. The exceſſes of the Huns and the Vandals are the execration of every reflecting mind; but if we view, with unprejudiced optics, the tranſactions of ſome of the moſt enlightened people of the earth, in the mirror of truth, we ſhall be brought to allow with ſhame, that, though ignorance may admit of ſome palliation, knowledge, which is only applied to perpetrate greater crimes with ſyſtematic effect, can find neither extenuation nor excuſe.

But to return. It having been determined to fit out an expedition for the continent of America, to take advantage of circumſtances, and to enrich the adventurers and their employers with gold, Hernando Cortez was appointed commander. This gentleman was born at Medelin, a town of Eſtremadura in Spain; and being bred to a military life, reſolved to puſh his fortune in the Weſt Indies, whither he ſailed in 1504, with letters of recommendation to his kinſman Don Nicholas de Obando, then governor of Hiſpaniola. He was received by his relation with due cordiality, and kindly entertained; but nothing could divert his propenſity to arms; and Hiſpaniola being in a ſtate of peace, he deſired leave to ſerve in Cuba, where war ſtill raged againſt the natives. Arriving there, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a valiant ſoldier and able commander; and was afterwards appointed chief magiſtrate, or alcalde of St. Jago. This ſituation he filled when the expedition to the continent was planned; and being fleſhed in blood, was deemed a proper perſon to conduct the enterprize.

His commiſſion being made out as captain general of the fleet, and of the countries he ſhould diſcover and ſubdue for Spain, he ſet ſail from Cuba

Cuba on the 18th of November 1518, with ten ſmall veſſels, not exceeding one hundred tons burden. His whole compliment of men was about ſix hundred; he had beſides eighteen horſes, and a ſmall number of field-pieces.

Paſſing over his previous tranſactions and adventures, we find him on the coaſt of Mexico, with a force ſcarcely adequate for the reduction of a ſingle town, or the maintenance of a ſingle poſt, he propoſes to ſubdue an empire of conſiderable power and great extent. An empire, rich in reſources, and inhabited by millions of Indians, paſſionately attached to war, and governed by a warlike chief, Montezuma, the terror of whoſe arms had been felt by the neighbouring nations; and whoſe abilities in the ſcience of government were by no means contemptible.

Had this expedition happened in very remote ages, ſo romantic are the circumſtances attending it, that it would have ranked, in point of authenticity with the Argonautic, or the labours of Hercules. Never was more achieved by leſs improbable means. The empire of Mexico had ſubſiſted for many centuries: its inhabitants were far advanced in refinement, and remote from barbariſm; they were intelligent, and in ſome degree learned. Like the ancient Egyptians, whoſe wiſdom is ſo much admired in this particular, they know the annual revolution of the ſun, with a preciſion which could ſcarcely have been expected from a people unacquainted with letters. They fixed the period of the year at three hundred and ſixty-five days nearly. Their ſuperiority in military affairs, was the object of admiration and terror over the remote parts of the continent; and their conſtitution, founded on the ſure baſis of religion and law,

law, ſeemed as permanent as time itſelf. The cities diſplayed magnificence in architecture, and opulence in their decorations. But all theſe advantages combined could not ſecure Mexico from the unequal proweſs of Spain.

Cortez, in his march, met with but a timid and ſpiritleſs oppoſition from the nations along the coaſt of this empire. They were terrified at the very appearance of a people whom they ſuppoſed of a higher order, and of invincible ſtrength. The warlike animals, on which the Spaniſh officers were mounted, had before this time diſcomfited the Indians with a ſight; the artificial thunder iſſuing from their hands, which was aſcribed to a preternatural origin; the wooden caſtles, which waſted them over the ocean, from lands too remote to be conceived by the inhabitants of the new world, ſtruck them with ſuch a panic and awe, that when they began to recover themſelves, it was too late to prevent the conſequences.

Wherever the Spaniards advanced, they ſpared neither ſex nor age, neither things ſacred nor profane. At laſt the people of Flaſcala, and ſome other maritime ſtates, deſpairing of being able to oppoſe them by force, or depreſs them by cunning, entered into an alliance with their invaders; and join their armies to thoſe of invincible conquerors, as they were reputed. When diviſions once take place in a country, ruin is ſure to enſue. They who ſupport the invaders, or encourage the foe, and they who oppoſe, are ſoon involved in one common danger and diſgrace.

Cortez, being thus reinforced by new auxiliaries, marched on towards Mexico: and, in his progreſs, diſcovers a volcano of ſulphur and ſal petr

petre, from whence he could ſupply himſelf with powder. This was fortunate beyond his hopes. Montezuma heard of his advance with irreſolution, nor dared to oppoſe it. Yet the Spaniſh writers, probably to magnify the greatneſs of their exploits, repreſent this ſovereign as commanding thirty tributary princes, each of whom could bring one hundred thouſand men into the field.

A monarch, thus formidable in his own country, dares not reſiſt a handful of Spaniards, aided by a few natives, whoſe fidelity would be ſhaken by the firſt reverſe of fortune. Such was the difference between the inhabitants of the two worlds; or ſuch was the effect of fear produced by the fame of the Spaniſh victories, which flew like lightning before them.

After ſome feeble efforts to avert the impending ſtorm, Montezuma ſent a rich preſent of gold to Cortez, which only ſerved to whet his avarice; and make him more anxious to poſſeſs his undivided treaſures.

The emperor became daily more depreſſed and devout. He reſorted to the temples; he increaſed the number of human ſacrifices; and at length aſſembling his magicians, ordered them, on pain of death, to ſtupify or overcome the Spaniards by their incantations. A conſiderable number of theſe necromancers ſet out; but having performed their incantations without effect, they returned and told Montezuma, that his ruin was decreed, and the diſſolution of his empire at hand.

The ſuperſtitious prince was petrified with this report. At laſt, recovering his ſpeech, he exclaimed, "If our gods forſake us, let the "ſtrangers

" ſtrangers come. It would be diſhonourable to " turn our backs on misfortunes; but," added he, " I lament the old men, women, and children, " who cannot defend themſelves."

From this moment, he gave up all for loſt; and began to prepare for the reception of the Spaniards. Cortez, purſuing his march, was viſited by one of Montezuma's nephews. He was a young man of an agreeable aſpect, and was carried on the ſhoulders of his ſervants, in a chair adorned with curiouſly diverſified plumage. He no ſooner alighted, than his attendants began to ſweep the ground, and form a circle for him. Cortez, advancing to the door of his apartment, received him with a low bow, which the prince returned, by touching the earth and then his lips with his right hand. This ſalutation paſſed, he ſat down, and welcomed Cortez and his captains with an eaſy air. He deſcanted on the amicable diſpoſition of Montezuma; and enumerated the difficulties that lay in his way to a viſit of Mexico, from the ſterility of laſt ſeaſon; ſo that ſtrangers could not expect to be liberally provided for, when the natives themſelves were in want. After this, he received a preſent of ſome fictitious jewels, with which he ſeemed highly delighted; and immediately ſet out to report his embaſſy.

The Spaniards marching with their uſual circumſpection and order, after paſſing through ſome of the moſt ſplendid cities in the empire, at laſt had a ſight of Mexico, diſtinguiſhed above all the reſt by the height of its towers, and the grandeur and multiplicity of its buildings. Before they had advanced half way, they were met by about four thouſand nobles and officers of the city; who, having paid their obeiſance, faced about

about and proceeded before the troops. At a ſmall diſtance from Mexico, the cauſeway, over the lake in which it ſtood, was croſſed by a bulwark of ſtone; and the entrance into the city was ſecured by gates, a draw bridge, and a ſecond fortification. The nobles had no ſooner paſſed on the other ſide of the bridge, than they formed a lane for the army to paſs through. A ſpacious ſtreet ſoon ſaluted their view, the houſes of which were uniformly built, and the windows and battlements filled with ſpectators. Nobody, however, was ſeen in the ſtreets, as the emperor had ordered them to be cleared; having himſelf reſolved to ſhew Cortez an extraordinary mark of his favour, by coming in perſon to receive him.

Scarce had the Spaniards entered the city, when they perceived the firſt troop of the royal retinue, conſiſting of two hundred noblemen, richly and uniformly habited, who, approaching the ſtrangers, with eyes fixed on the ground, fell back on each ſide. Then appeared another company, ſtill more ſplendidly dreſſed, in the centre of whom was Montezuma, in a chariot of burniſhed gold, ſurrounded with beautiful plumes, and carried on the ſhoulders of his favourites. Over his head four perſons held a canopy of green feathers, interwoven with ſilver. He was immediately preceded by three officers with golden rods, which from time to time were lifted up, as a ſignal of the emperors approach; that all might fall proſtrate and hide their faces.

Cortez diſmounted at a ſmall diſtance, when Montezuma did the ſame, and walked on carpets which were ſpread in the ſtreet. His pace was ſlow and ſolemn; and he leaned on two of his couſins, who governed large provinces. He was

about forty years of age, of a middle ſtature, and good preſence; but his conſtitution ſeemed rather delicate than robuſt. His noſe was aquiline, his eyes lively, his hair ſhort, his complexion fair for a Mexican, and his look penſive, but majeſtic. He wore on his head a kind of golden mitre; and was dreſſed in a mantle of fine cotton, covered with gold, pearls, and precious ſtones, careleſsly ſuſpended on his ſhoulders. His ſhoes reſembled the Roman ſandals, with ſoles of gold.

Cortez haſtily advanced, and made a profound reverence, which Montezuma returned in the manner of his country, already deſcribed. At this the Mexicans were greatly aſtoniſhed; as none of their emperors had ever ſhewn ſuch condeſcenſion before. Cortez wore about his neck a chain of glaſs, in imitation of diamonds and emeralds, which he had reſerved as a preſent for his firſt audience; and coming up to the emperor, threw it about his neck. The princes who ſupported Montezuma, with ſome emotion, ſignified that it was not lawful to approach ſo near; but the emperor reprimanding them, bowed his head to ſhew that he accepted the preſent; and in return, put a rich ornament, of crimſon ſhells and gold, round the neck of Cortez. The Spaniſh general then made a ſhort ſpeech, to which the emperor made a ſuitable reply. Thus ended the firſt interview; the particulars of which we thought it might be entertaining to record.

It was on the 8th of November 1519, that Cortez entered the city of Mexico. A palace was immediately ſet apart for the ſtrangers; which had been built by Montezuma's father, and was large enough to accommodate the whole army. It was erected of ſtones, flanked with towers

towers; and many of the apartments were furniſhed with cotton hangings and ornamental feather work. The chairs were formed of ſolid pieces of wood; and the bedſteads had curtains like pavilions. The beds themſelves and the bolſters were of palm mats.

Cortez had no ſooner diſtributed his guards, and placed his artillery before the gates, than he found a ſplendid banquet provided for him and his officers, and plenty of proviſions for all his ſoldiers, with many Mexican attendants who waited on them in profound ſilence.

In the evening, Cortez received a viſit from the emperor, who came in the ſame ſtate as before. The Spaniard met him in the principal ſquare; and both entering the apartment together, Montezuma ſeated himſelf, and ordering a chair to be brought for Cortez, is ſaid to have addreſſed him in the following terms: "Before you ex- "plain the particulars of your embaſſy, illuſtri- "ous captain, let you and I lay aſide the preju- "dices we have each imbibed of the other, from "the miſrepreſentations of common fame. You "have in ſome quarters heard that I am a god; "that my power is invincible, and my riches "immenſe; that my palaces are covered with "gold; and that the earth groans beneath the "weight of my treaſures. On other occaſions, you have been informed, that I am a tyrant, inſolent, cruel, and unjuſt. By both repreſentations you have been equally impoſed on. This arm of fleſh and blood ſhews that I am a mortal, and theſe walls and roofs demonſtrate that that my palaces are not covered with gold. From theſe inſtances before your eyes, you

" may likewiſe conclude that the account of m
" vices is alſo exaggerated by my enemies.
" We have alſo received various contradictor
" ſentiments of you. Some have affirmed yo
" are gods, who graſp the thunder, control th
" elements, and compel the beaſts of the fore
" to obey your commands. You have been re
" preſented by others as proud, vindictive, vo
" luptuous, and tranſported with an inſatiabl
" cupidity for gold. Yet I now ſee, that I hav
" been alike deceived by theſe jarring account
" You are formed like other men, and only di
" tinguiſhed from us by the peculiarities of yo
" country. The beaſts that ſo readily obey yo
" are large deer, trained up to diſcipline. Yo
" arms, that produce lightning, I conceive t
" be barrels of metal, and their effect, like tha
" of our ſarbacans, proceeds from air compre
" ed and ſtriving for vent; and as to fire, noi
" and ſmoke, they ſurely originate from inchan
" ment. In a word, we believe that the grea
" prince, to whom you pay obedience, is a de
" ſcendant of Quezalcoal, lord of the ſeve
" caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful ſov
" reign of the ſeven nations that gave riſe to th
" Mexican empire. For, from the tradition
" many ages, we know that he left theſe coun
" tries to conquer new regions in the eaſt, wit
" a promiſe, that in proceſs of time his deſcend
" ants ſhould return to new-model our laws, an
" reform our government. We have therefore a
" ready determined, that every thing ſhall be don
" for the honour of a prince, who is the offsprin
" of ſuch an illuſtrious progenitor."

To this harangue, Cortez replied, " we hav
" it is true, Sire, heard very oppoſite accounts
yo

your character, which has been extolled by ſome, and vilified by others; but as the Spaniards have penetration enough to diſtinguiſh the colours of diſcourſe, we have given no credit either to your flatterers or your foes; but came into your preſence with full aſſurance of your being a great and equitable prince. You juſtly conclude we are mortal; though more intelligent and valiant than your vaſſals. Our beaſts are not deer, but are of a more generous breed of animals, fond of war, and aſpiring with a kind of ambition to the glory of their maſters: and as to our arms, they are fabricated by human induſtry, without the aſſiſtance of magic; an abominable art which we deteſt. I am come as ambaſſador to your majeſty from the moſt powerful monarch on whom the ſun ſheds his beams at his firſt riſing. He deſires to be your friend and confederate; and though, according to your traditions, he might pretend to be more abſolute in theſe dominions, he wiſhes to arrogate to himſelf no authority, but to promote your advantage, and to convince you that you have departed from the worſhip of the true God, in order to pay your adoration to inſenſate wood, carved by your own hands, to which you inhumanly ſacrifice your fellow-creatures."

Having ended his ſpeech, Montezuma aroſe, ſaying, "I accept the friendſhip and confederacy of the great deſcendant of Quezalcoal; but all gods are good, and yours may be ſo without prejudice to mine. In the mean while, repoſe yourſelves; you are in your own houſe, where you ſhall be punctually ſerved with all poſſible reſpect."

He then ordered ſome very valuable preſents to be introduced, and to be given to Cortez; and with a cheerful air, diſtributed ſome jewels among the Spaniards who were preſent.

Next day Cortez had an audience at the emperor's palace. This magnificent building had thirty gates that communicated with as many ſtreets. The principal front took up one ſide of a ſpacious ſquare, and was compoſed of red, white, and black jaſper, beautifully poliſhed; and, in a large ſhield over the gate, were repreſented Montezuma's arms; a griffin with expanded wings, holding a tiger in its talons.

After paſſing three ſquares, they reached the emperor's apartments; the walls of which were covered with cotton hangings, intermixed with furs; and the interior rooms were hung with a beautiful kind of tapeſtry, formed of plumes of various colours. The floors were covered with mats, and the roofs were of cypreſs, cedar, and other odoriferous woods, adorned with foliages and other relievos; and though the uſe of nails was unknown to the Mexicans, the cielings were ſo contrived, that the planks ſupported each other.

Montezuma, who was ſtanding alone, advanced to meet Cortez, and the cuſtomary ſalutation paſſed. Then, being ſeated, the emperor entered into converſation with great affability, and aſked a number of pertinent queſtions; obſerving how much the Mexicans were obliged to the deſcendants of their firſt king; and ſeemed to exult in having the prophecies fulfilled in his reign.

Cortez, turning the diſcourſe on religion, inveighed againſt human ſacrifices with ſuch warmth, that Montezuma baniſhed human fleſh from his table.

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Some days after, the emperor, who was ſtill much attached to the ſuperſtitions of his country, conducted Cortez and ſome of his principal officers to the chief temple, that they might be ſpectators of its magnificence. He explained the particulars of their worſhip with ſuch ſolemnity, that the Spaniards could ſcarcely refrain from laughter; and Cortez himſelf, tranſported by an unſeaſonable zeal, cried out, "allow me, Sire, to "fix the croſs of Chriſt before thoſe images of "the devil; and you will ſee whether they de-"ſerve adoration or contempt." Montezuma and his prieſts felt enraged at this propoſal; but ſhewed a more liberal mind than their pretended reformers, as they not only allowed the Spaniards to fit up a chapel, but frequently attended during the celebration of maſs.

We beg leave to ſubjoin a ſhort deſcription of the imperial city of Mexico. It was divided into two parts; one, the reſidence of the lower claſſes; the other, appropriated to the court and the nobility. Both parts contained about ſixty thouſand families. This capital ſtood in an extenſive plain, environed by rocks and lofty mountains, from which many rivulets iſſuing, formed a variety of beautiful and ſpacious lakes. The two largeſt lakes had a communication with each other; and one of them was freſh and the other ſalt. The city of Mexico ſtood in the middle of the ſaline lake in 19 deg. 13 min. north latitude, yet enjoyed a mild and ſalubrious climate. It was joined to the main land by three noble cauſeways. The ſtreets were ſtraight and wide, and interſected by a number of canals, on which fifty thouſand canoes of different ſizes plied. All the public edifices were built of ſtone.

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The temples were peculiarly ſpacious and magnificent; and the ornaments of ſome of the idols were of ineſtimable value.

The emperor had ſeveral pleaſure houſes, fitted up in various ſtyles, and with the richeſt decorations. He had alſo a houſe of ſorrow, to which he retired on any public calamity, or private loſs. He had two queens, the daughters of tributary princes; and an amazing number of concubines ſelected from among the faireſt ladies of his dominions. Theſe, when diſmiſſed, were afterward married to perſons of the firſt quality. To be noticed by the emperor, was a paſſport to female honour and diſtinction.

Such was the capital of Mexico, when the Spaniards arrived; and ſuch were the conduct and habits of the emperor on the throne. He ſeemed to load Cortez, day after day, with new marks of his generoſity; he anticipated all his wants and ſtudiouſly prevented the poſſibility of breaking with him. Cortez, however, was diſtruſtful that under this affected politeneſs, ſome deſign was concealed which might involve him and his followers in ſudden ruin. But he could find no pretence for violence: and he kept himſelf on his guard againſt ſurprize.

Civilities and preſents were ſtill heaped upon him, with a moſt munificent hand: the Spaniards being tired of inaction, would have been more delighted to have found an excuſe for commencing hoſtilities. "Think nothing gain'd, while "aught ungain'd remains," ſeems to have been the motto he adopted. At laſt the wiſhed-for opportunity preſented itſelf.

In order to ſecure a communication by ſea to receive the requiſite reinforcements, the Spa-

niſh general had erected a fort, and left a ſmall garriſon behind him at Vera Cruz, which has ince become the emporium of American and European commerce. He underſtood, that the ndians in that vicinity had attacked this garriſon n his abſence, and that a Spaniard was killed in he action. It was even inſinuated, that Montezuma himſelf was privy to the aggreſſion; and had ſſued orders, that the head of the ſlain Spaniards hould be carried through his provinces, to deſtroy an abſurd, though prevailing belief, that the Europeans were immortal.

On receiving this intelligence, ſo favourable to his wiſhes, Cortez waited on the emperor in perſon, attended by a few of his moſt faithful and experienced officers. To the charge of treachery, Montezuma pleaded innocent; and Cortez eemed to hear him with pleaſure, and to give his declaration the moſt implicit credit. But at ame time, with an inſiduous policy he alleged, hat the Spaniards in general would never be convinced of it, unleſs he returned along with him to their reſidence, which would remove all ealouſy between the two nations. The ſpirit of Montezuma roſe at the idea of this indignity; he felt it in its full force; he heſitated; but, awed by fear, at laſt he complied.

The ſucceſs of this interview ſhewed the ſuperiority of European addreſs. A powerful monarch, n the middle of his own palace, and ſurrounded by his guards, reſigned himſelf a priſoner into he hands of a few ſtrangers, who came to demand him. Cortez was now poſſeſſed of an engine which he could direct to every purpoſe; and which alone could accompliſh all his ſchemes. The Mexicans entertained a reſpect bordering on religious

religious veneration for their prince. Cortez, by keeping him in his power, and allowing him to enjoy every external of royalty, ſave liberty, maintained an eaſy ſovereignty over Mexico, by governing its head. At the ſame time, by ſtudying the emperor's character, and flattering and indulging all his foibles and paſſions, he worked himſelf into his moſt entire affection. Did the Mexicans, by continued intercourſe and familiarity with the Spaniards, ſhew any abatement of their original reſpect, Montezuma was employed to teach them a more obſequious politeneſs. Was a tumult excited through the cruelty or avarice of theſe invaders, Montezuma aſcended the battlements of his priſon, and harangued his people into ſubmiſſion and forbearance.

This farce was continued ſo long, that repetition became vapid, and both Spaniards and natives were ſick of the degrading ſervility of the emperor. But it was fortunate for the prince, that, with his character and conſequence, he ſoon loſt his life. While he was one day ſhamefully proſtituting his dignity and his talents, in defending the enemies of his country, and juſtifying their enormities; a ſtone from an unknown hand ſtruck him on the temple, which in a ſhort time occaſioned his death.

The Mexicans liberated from the mock authority of a ſovereign, who was compelled to co-operate with his enemies, againſt the intereſts of his country, elect a new prince, the famous Guatimozin; who from the beginning diſplayed an implacable animoſity againſt the Spaniſh name. Under his conduct, the miſerable Mexicans ruſhed into battle, againſt thoſe men whom they had once conſidered as divinities. Various conflicts enſued

hſued; and numerous were the turns of for-
une that both ſides experienced. But by the
exterous management of Cortez, it was found
mpoſſible to deprive the Spaniards of the foot-
ng they had gained in Mexico. The grandees
f this country had agreed to pay the crown of
pain the immenſe ſum of ſix hundred thouſand
arks of pure gold by way of tribute, excluſive
f an amazing quantity of precious ſtones. The
fth part of this diſtrubuted among the ſoldiers,
y gratifying their avarice, ſtimulated their cou-
ge; and made them diſregard dangers, when
ch rewards awaited their exertions.

Numerous, however, were the efforts which
e Mexicans made to recover their independ-
nce. Unfortunately they did not act in con-
rt; nor was their policy equal to their power.
heir valour and their numbers, even their de-
air, gave way before what they emphatically
amed the Spaniſh thunder.

At laſt Guatimozin and the empreſs were taken
riſoners; and to ſpare the effuſion of his ſub-
cts blood, he requeſted them to ſubmit to the
paniſh general. The voice of the emperor al-
yed the ſtorm of war, and a temporary peace
nſued. This was the prince whoſe fortitude
ill be for ever memorable. When he lay
retched on burning coals, by order of one of
e receiver's of the King of Spain's exchequer,
ho inflicted the torture to force him to diſcover
to what part of the lake he had thrown his
eaſures, ſaid to his high prieſt, condemned to
e ſame dreadful puniſhment, and who loudly
preſſed his ſenſe of excruciating pain, "Do
you imagine that I lie on a bed of roſes?" The
gh prieſt kept ſilence; and died in an act of
tiful obedience to his ſovereign.

Guatimozin

Guatimozin himſelf was ſaved from this fate but Cortez finding one conſpiracy ſucceed another, and the natural love of liberty and independence to be ſtill ſtrong in the breaſts of the Mexicans, at laſt hanged the emperor and two other Indian princes, who were ſaid to be his accomplices in a plot againſt the Spaniards. Thus Mexico ceaſed to be an empire, and together with Caſtile d'Or, Darien, and other provinces ſubmitted to the arms of Spain. The inhabitants, in general, were either exterminated, or retired to the mountains.

Cortez, finding himſelf eſtabliſhed, began to rebuild the city of Mexico, which had been almoſt demoliſhed by repeated attack and defence. But all his conqueſts and all his ſucceſs could not ſecure him in peace. When the Indians ceaſed to plot for his deſtruction, his own countrymen entered into conſpiracies againſt him. He had enemies too, who endeavoured to prejudice him with his ſovereign Charles V. To invalidate the effects of injurious repreſentations againſt him he viſited Europe in 1528, when he was graciouſly received by his prince, had ſeveral towns and villages ſettled upon him, and obtained the title of Marquis of Guaxaca.

Next year he returned to Mexico; but afterwards being embroiled with the viceroy of the province, he made a ſecond voyage to Spain, and died in a village near Seville on the 2d of December 1554, in the ſixty-third year of his age. By his own direction, his corpſe was carried to New Spain. His fame for courage and policy cannot be tarniſhed: farther we diſdain to beſtow our praiſe.

BRIE

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

CONQUEST OF PERU

BY

FRANCIS PIZARRO.

VASQUEZ NUNEZ DE BALBOA, part of whoſe adventures have already been recorded, having eſtabliſhed himſelf in the government of Santa Maria, immediately applied himſelf to make ſuch uſe of the power he had obtained, as might ſecure him a continuance of it. And he wiſely judged, that nothing would more effectually preſerve his elevation, than the accumulation of gold, and the extent of his diſcoveries for the benefit of Spain.

With theſe views, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to diſcharge the duty of a prudent governor, and to gain an aſcendency over the natives by a humane regard to their welfare; though he took care to eaſe them of their gold. But what is parted with willingly, cannot be conſidered as loſt. He alſo fitted out ſeveral expeditions on diſcoveries in the South Sea, and in one of them received the firſt intimation of the extenſive empire of Peru. Having taken poſſeſſion of Caſtile d'Oro, in the name of their Catholic Majeſties, he now thought that he had done enough to obliterate all his former irregularities, and there-

fore dispatched an agent to Spain with the king's money, and an account of his proceedings.

Unfortunately he had been superseded before an opportunity presented itself of clearing up his conduct, and displaying his services. Pedrarias d'Avila, one of the most sanguinary monsters that ever disgraced human nature, had been appointed governor of Golden Castile, and arrived at Santa Maria with a powerful fleet in July 1514. Nunez yielded him all imaginary respect; and though ambition was his favourite vice, resigned his authority without a murmur. This ill-requited officer afterwards found means to obtain a clearing of his character, and remuneration for his services, in the appointment of lord lieutenant of the countries on the South Seas. But Pedrarias, jealous of his worth and envious of his success, had him tried on the most frivolous charges; and he suffered death as a traitor, for no other crime but for serving his prince with a zeal and fidelity that reflected shame on his enemy.

Such was the fate of Vasquez Nunez de Balboa in the forty-second year of his age. He had built the town called Panama with incredible labour; he had extended the discoveries on the coast so far, that Peru was in prospect; and though fortune did not allow him to reap the laurels of the conquest, he cannot be denied the reputation of pointing out the way.

This introduction seemed necessary to connect the history of important discoveries. Whether it happened, that Spain, being engaged in a multiplicity of other concerns, did not find leisure to attend to new and distant discoveries, or that the accounts hitherto received of Peru were imperfect

or

or not credited, certain it is, that after different expeditions projected by Pedrarias had failed, this extenſive country, more important than Mexico itſelf, was reduced by the endeavours, and at the expence of three private perſons.

The firſt, and the life and ſoul of the enterpriſe was Francis Pizarro, a native of Truxillo, in the province of Eſtremadura in Spain. Some of his country writers ſay he was a nobleman by birth, while others maintain that he was an illegitimate ſon of an officer at Truxillo, who ſuffered him to be expoſed as a foundling. His reputed father, however, being diſcovered, he was obliged to maintain him; but he gave him no kind of education; when the conqueror of a mighty empire, he could neither read nor write! His younger days were ſpent in feeding hogs; but at length he ran away from his charge, and entering on board a ſhip bound for the Weſt Indies, diſtinguiſhed himſelf both in Hiſpaniola and Cuba for a bold and enterpriſing genius. He afterwards ſerved under Nunez de Balboa, and having acquired a handſome fortune, ſettled in Panama as ſoon as it was built. Here he ſeemed diſpoſed to end his days in the enjoyment of peace, till the thirſt of gold ſtimulated him to make overtures to Pedrarias, the governor, for a commiſſion to proſecute diſcoveries in the South Sea; which having obtained, with a confirmation from the court of Spain, he took in as aſſociates Diego de Almagro and Ferdinando de Luques. The former was of ſuch an obſcure origin, that though he was named from the place of his birth, no hiſtorian has been able to trace his father: the latter was a prieſt, and a man of large fortune.

This triumvirate, which eternized the infamy of their names, were at firſt the butt of ridicule to the ſober and reflecting part of their countrymen. Their project was treated as wild and viſionary; and that it would infallibly end in the ruin of the undertakers, was the common prediction. But without regarding the opinion of the world, they ſolemnly pledged themſelves to each other, that no dangers or diſaſters ſhould divert them from their enterpriſe; and that they ſhould equally participate in the advantages to be acquired. To ſtrengthen their reſolution, and to bind them ſtill more cloſely to each other, they called in the aid of religion. Having attended high maſs, which was celebrated by de Luques, they received the ſacrament from his hands. He broke the conſecrated wafer into three pieces; took the firſt himſelf, and gave the others to his companions, as a token that they would purſue their preſent deſign with no leſs eagerneſs than if their eternal happineſs depended on the event.

It was about the middle of November 1524 that Pizarro ſet out for the conqueſt of Peru with two hundred and fifty foot, ſixty horſe, and twelve ſmall pieces of cannon, drawn by ſlaves from the conquered nations. When we reflect that the Peruvians were impreſſed with the ſame prejudices with the Mexicans in favour of the Spaniſh nation, and beſides were of a conſtitution more effeminate and unwarlike, it need not be conſidered ſo extraordinary, after what has been related of the conqueſt of Mexico, that Pizarro ſhould be able, with this inconſiderable force, to make a deep and indelible impreſſion on the Peruvian empire. Particular circumſtances alſo conſpired to favour his undertaking

which

which, as they tend to develope ſomething of the hiſtory, religion, and ſtate of the human mind in this new world, it may not be improper to ſtate.

The original founder of the Peruvian empire was Mango Capac, a man who gifted with powers beyond the level of his kind, and calm and diſpaſſionate himſelf, by nicely diſcriminating the paſſions of his fellow creatures, was able to work upon them with effect, and turn them to his own profit and glory. He obſerved that the people of Peru were naturally addicted to ſuperſtition; and that they had a peculiar veneration for the orb of day. He pretended therefore to be deſcended from that glorious luminary, whoſe worſhip he was ſent to eſtabliſh, and whoſe authority he was entitled to exerciſe. By this romantic fiction, which was extremely well adapted to the prejudices of thoſe on whom he intended to impoſe, he eaſily duped a credulous people; and by this artifice alone, brought a conſiderable extent of territory under his juriſdiction. The foundation of his empire being thus laid on ſuperſtition, he extended his dominions ſtill farther by arms. But, to his honour be it recorded that, whether he employed fraud or force, it was with a view of promoting happineſs, and fixing its influence. He united and civilized the roving and barbarous tribes; he ſent them to laws, and inured them to arms; he ſoftened them by the inſtitution of a benevolent religion; and in proportion as he exalted their ſpirit by patriotiſm, he ſubdued their hearts by the effect of principle. In no part of America had agriculture and the arts made ſuch remarkable progreſs; or men advanced ſo far in the refinements that embelliſh life.

A race of princes ſucceeded Mango, diſtinguiſhed by the title of Yncas, and revered by their ſubjects as the undoubted deſcendants of their great God, the ſun. The twelfth of theſe now filled the throne, who was named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac had extended his hereditary dominions by the addition of the province of Quito, which now conſtitutes a part of Spaniſh Peru. To ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of this conqueſt, he had married the daughter of the legitimate prince of that country, and of this marriage was ſprung the reigning emperor. His elder brother, Hueſcar, by a different mother, had claimed the ſucceſſion to the whole of his paternal dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on Atabalipa by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account; which, after various turns of fortune, and greatly weakening the empire, terminated in favour of the younger brother; who now detained Hueſcar a priſoner in the tower of Cuſco, the capital of the Peruvian empire.

Thus the ſeeds of anarchy were engendered, and the cauſe of diſſolution had begun to operate, before the arrival of Pizarro. In this feeble and diſjointed ſtate of the empire, the ominous predictions of religion joined their force to human calamities. Prophecies were recorded, and dreams were recollected, which foretold the ſubjugation of the empire by perſons unknown, whoſe deſcription was ſuppoſed to correſpond with that of the Spaniards. In particular, they had an old tradition, which had been univerſally received, that the elder ſon of one of their yncas, in ancient days, had ſeen a ſtrange kind of phantom who called himſelf Virachoca, or offſpring of the ſun.

His

His dreſs and appearance were entirely different from thoſe of the Peruvians; his beard was long, his garments flowed down to his feet, and in his hand he held an animal abſolutely unknown to the young prince. This fable was ſo firmly believed, and ſo deeply rooted in the minds of the Peruvians, that they no ſooner ſaw a Spaniard with a beard, his legs covered, and holding his horſe by the bridle, than they exclaimed, "See "there is the Ynca Virachoca," or the ſon of the ſun.

Under ſuch impreſſions Atabalipa, inſtead of oppoſing the Spaniards, ſet himſelf to procure their favour. "Theſe people," ſaid the emperor, "are meſſengers of the gods; let us be ſeen to "do nothing to offend them; but on the con-"trary, uſe our utmoſt endeavours to gain them "by civilities." Pizarro, however, whoſe temper partook of the meanneſs of his education, had no conception of gentle dealings with a people he falſely deemed barbarians; but who in fact, though leſs expert in the cruel arts of human deſtruction, were more civilized than himſelf. In conformity, therefore, to his deteſtable way of thinking, while he was engaged in a conference with Atabalipa, his men, as previouſly inſtructed, furiouſly attacked the guards of that prince without provocation, and having butchered five thouſand of them as they were preſſing forward to protect the ſacred perſon of their monarch, ſeized Atabalipa himſelf, whom they carried off to the Spaniſh quarters.

Pizarro having thus got poſſeſſion of the emperor without reſiſtance, might be already ſaid to be maſter of Peru; for the inhabitants of this country were as ſtrongly attached to their ſovereign,

reign, as were the Mexicans. They ſoon began to treat with the Spaniards about his ranſom; and on this melancholy occaſion, the ancient ornaments of royalty, amaſſed by a long line of magnificent kings, the hallowed treaſures of the moſt ſolemn temples were produced to liberate him, who was regarded as the life of the kingdom, and the ſupport of religion.

While Pizarro was engaged in this negociation, by which he hoped to accumulate an immenſe quantity of gold, without at laſt delivering up the emperor, the arrival of his aſſociate Almagro threw his affairs into ſome embarraſſment. The external ſhew of amity between theſe men was ſolely founded on the principle of avarice, and a bold enterprizing ſpirit, to which nothing appeared too difficult or dangerous, that could gratify their predominant paſſion. When their intereſts, therefore, happened to claſh, it was not probable that any meaſures could be kept between them. Pizarro arrogated to himſelf the moſt conſiderable ſhare of the treaſure for the emperor's ranſom, becauſe he was the chief inſtrument in acquiring it. On the contrary, Almagro inſiſted on an equal diviſion; and at laſt, leſt the common cauſe ſhould ſuffer by their diſcord, this diſpoſition was acceded to.

The ranſom was prepared without delay, a ſum far exceeding their conception, yet incapable of ſatiating their avarice. It is ſaid to have exceeded a million and a half ſterling, which, conſidering the value of money at this time, was prodigious. After deducting the fifth for the King of Spain, and the ſhares of the chief commanders and officers, each private ſoldier received above two thouſand pounds ſterling. With ſuch

ſuch a fortune it was not to be expected, that a mercenary army would willingly ſubmit to the rigours of military diſcipline. No ſooner were they in poſſeſſion of ſuch a treaſure, than they began to inſiſt on being diſbanded, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labours in quiet. Pizarro had policy enough to comply with this demand, ſenſible that the deſire of increaſing their preſent acquiſitions would ſtill detain a conſiderable number in his army; and that thoſe who returned with ſuch magnificent fortunes, would induce new adventurers to purſue the ſame ſteps for the acquirement of gold. Theſe ſagacious reflections were abundantly verified. It was impoſſible to ſend out more proper recruiting officers than thoſe who had themſelves reaped ſuch amazing profits by the field: new adventurers conſtantly arrived; and his armies were conſtantly ſupplied with the neceſſary reinforcements.

The immenſe ranſom which had been brought forward for the redemption of Atabalipa, ſerved only as a reaſon to avarice for detaining him longer in confinement, till they could aſcertain if he had not another treaſure to gratify their cupidity. But whether they believed, that the friends of the emperor had no more to give, or were unwilling to employ the troops in guarding a prince who had no more to beſtow; or that Pizarro had conceived an averſion againſt the Peruvian emperor, which ſome circumſtances give us reaſon to ſuppoſe; certain it is, that by his command this ill-fated prince was put to death. To juſtify this cruel proceeding, a ſuit was inſtituted againſt him, on pretence that he was an idolater, that he kept a number of concubines, and

and other charges of similar impertinence. The only equitable accusation brought against him was, that he had dispatched his brother Huescar, and even this was considerably palliated, by the circumstance of its being well known, that this prince had been plotting against the emperor, in order to place himself on the throne. But when it is considered that, according to the law of nations, no foreign power ought to interfere in the domestic arrangements of an independent people, this pretence will fall to the ground. To the eternal infamy of the Spaniards, the unhappy Atabalipa having been sentenced to be burned, had his punishment commuted to strangling, on condition of his turning Christian. He received the rite of baptism, which it was impossible he could understand, in the evening, and next morning was no more. Upon the death of the ynca a number of candidates started to fill the vacant throne. The principal nobility sanctioned the pretensions of the full brother of Huescar. Pizarro set up a son of Atabalipa; and two of the Peruvian generals endeavoured to establish themselves by the assistance of the army. These distractions, as might have been supposed, would have facilitated the conquests of Spain, and have been fatal to the interests of Peru. At the present period, however, they had not the effect that might have been expected. The candidates fought against each other with animosity, and inured their partizans to arms. A quiet inoffensive people is accustomed to blood; and such is the preference of national spirit, from whatever cause excited, to a total lethargy, that in the course of these intestine commotions, the inhabitants of Peru assumed some courage against the Spaniards

Spaniards; whom they juſtly conſidered as the primary cauſe of all their calamities.

The loſſes which the Europeans experienced in theſe conteſts were leſs important in themſelves than in their ultimate conſequences. They leſſened that opinion of invincibility which had been attached to their arms; and which they had been ſo anxious to keep up and diſſeminate among the inhabitants of the new world. This conſideration induced Pizarro to conclude a truce; and he employed the interval in laying the foundation of the famous city of Lima, and providing for the permanent eſtabliſhment of the Spaniards in this country.

Embracing the firſt favourable opportunity of renewing the war, the Spaniards again took the field; and after ſurmounting many difficulties and dangers, Pizarro at laſt made himſelf maſter of Cuſco, the capital of the empire. This happened in October 1532. On entering the city, from which the inhabitants had fled, and carried what was moſt valuable with them, he ſtill found treaſures immenſe. As it was the cuſtom of the country to bury with their grandees the beſt part of their riches, the conquerors rifled the ſepulchres; and found them as rich as the habitations of the living. The plunder of Cuſco has been computed to equal the ſum formerly advanced for the ranſom of Atabalipa. Pizarro now invited the inhabitants to return to their dwellings, carful leſt by driving them to deſperation, the whole empire might unite againſt him. The Indians accepted the propoſal, and even the ynca made ſome overtures of accommodation.

While ſucceſs had ſo far attended the Spaniards, new grants and levies arrived from the mother

ther country. Pizarro obtained two hundre leagues along the ſea-coaſt to the ſouthward o what had been originally granted him; and Al magro two hundred leagues to the ſouthward o Pizarro's government. This diviſion occaſione a warm diſpute between the two chiefs, eac reckoning Cuſco within the limits of his diſtri But the dexterity of Pizarro effected a reconcili ation. He perſuaded his rival, that the countr which really belonged to him lay to the ſouth ward of Cuſco; that it was no way inferior i riches or fertility, and might be as eaſily con quered as Peru. To enforce this argument, h offered him his aſſiſtance in the expedition, th ſucceſs of which he deemed indiſputable.

Almagro, that he might have the honour ſubduing a kingdom for himſelf, liſtened to th advice; and having united as many of Pizarro ſoldiers to his own, as he judged neceſſary, pen trated with great danger and difficulty into Chi But danger and difficulty vaniſh at the proſpe of gold. He paſſed mountains of immen height, and covered with eternal ſnow, with th loſs of many of his men, and the greateſt part his baggage. Theſe mountains were the Cordi leras. At length he arrived in Copayapu, ſu ject to the Ynca of Peru; and in a ſhort tim reduced a conſiderable part of the circumjace country.

The Peruvians had now gained policy fr their intercourſe with the Spaniards, and ſom knowledge of the art of war. This diviſion the troops of the enemy did not eſcape their n tice. They made an effort to regain their ca tal, in which, while Pizarro was indiſpoſed a Almagro at a diſtance, they were well nigh ſu ceſsf

ceſsful. The latter, however, having received intelligence of the ſiege of Cuſco, immediately abandoned his views of diſtant conqueſt, and returned to ſecure the grand object of their former labours. He ſoon raiſed the ſiege of Cuſco, with an infinite ſlaughter of the aſſailants; but having now the merit of obtaining poſſeſſion of the city, he was unwilling to relinquiſh it to Pizarro, who was approaching with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians.

This bone of contention occaſioned a long and bloody ſtruggle between the chiefs and their reſpective parties, in which the turns of fortune were various, and the reſentment fierce on both ſides; becauſe the fate of the vanquiſhed was certain deſtruction. Such at laſt was the fate of Almagro, who in an advanced age, fell a victim to the ſecurity of a rival, in whoſe dangers and triumphs he had long participated; and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprize, he had been cloſely connected. During the courſe of this civil war, many Peruvians ſerved in the Spaniſh armies, and learned from the practice of Chriſtians to butcher one another with ſucceſs.

That paſſive and blinded nation, however, at laſt opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable reſolution. They ſaw the ferocity of the Europeans, their implacable reſentment, their inſatiable avarice; and they conjectured, that the exerciſe of thoſe paſſions would never ſuffer the conteſts to ſubſide. "Let us retire," ſaid they "from among them, let us fly to our mountains; "they will ſpeedily deſtroy one another, and "then we may return in peace to our former ha- "bitations." This reſolution was inſtantly put in practice. The Peruvians diſperſed, and left the

Spaniards in their capital. Had the force of the combatants been exactly equal, this ſingular policy of the natives might have been attended with the expected ſucceſs. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to Almagro's life and to the hopes of the Peruvians.

Pizarro now freed from a rival, and maſter of the richeſt empire in the world, was ſtill ſpurred on by ambition to undertake new enterpriſes. The ſouthern countries into which he had ſometime before diſpatched Almagro, preſented the richeſt field for diſcovery and conqueſt. He therefore proceeded in the track of Almagro into Chili, and reduced another part of that country. Orellana, one of his captains paſſed the Andes, and ſailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons. On the banks of this immenſe navigation, ſome of the women having attended their huſbands into battle, as was not unuſual in America, were found among the ſlain in armour. This gave riſe to the fiction of a warlike race of females, reſembling the ancient Amazons. The country through which Orellana paſſed was rich and delightful in the fruits of the earth; but as it was chiefly champaign, and therefore not plentiful in minerals, the Spaniards diſregarded it; and have never yet made any ſettlements here.

Pizarro, fortunate in moſt of his undertakings, without a ſuperior to control or a rival to oppoſe him, now gave a looſe to the natural ferocity of his temper; and behaved with unfeeling cruelty to all who had not concurred in his deſigns, and implicitly obeyed his commands. This brutal conduct raiſed a conſpiracy againſt him. His enemies were driven to deſperation: they ſaw no end of their miſeries, but by diſpatching Pizarro

or themſelves. They reſolved on the former; and aſſaſſinated the tyrant in his own palace, in the city of Lima, which he had founded. This blow was ſtruck on the 26th of June 1541. Pizarro when he fell was ſixty-five years old. He had never been married, and though he cohabited with the daughters and ſiſters of the yncas, as well as with others, it is not known that he left any children behind him. His ignorance rendered him contemptible, his cruelty deteſtable, and his fate was unlamented.

The partizans of old Almagro now declared his ſon of the ſame name viceroy; but the greateſt part of the nation, though not averſe to the conſpiracy which took off Pizarro, refuſed to concur in this determination. They waited the orders of the Emperor Charles V. then King of Spain, who ſent over Vaca di Caſtro, a man of the ſtricteſt probity, to be their governor. By him the young Almagro was defeated; and being tried and condemned, loſt his life, together with the chief ſupporters of his cauſe. De Caſtro, by his wiſdom and integrity, was admirably qualified to heal the wounds of the colony; and to place every thing on the moſt advantageous footing, both for it and for the mother country. By his prudent conduct, the mines of La Plata and Potoſi, which had hitherto ſupplied the private plunderer, were converted into objects of public utility to the court of Spain. The parties, which had agitated the province from the very beginning, were either cruſhed or ſilenced; and tranquillity was again reſtored to Peru.

It appears, however, that de Caſtro, truſting, perhaps, too much to a conſcious integrity, had neglected the uſual precautions of

guilt, in ſecuring the favour of the miniſtry by bribes or promiſes. By their advice, a council was ſent out to control Caſtro; and the colony was again unſettled. The parties juſt compoſed, began to rage anew; and Gonzalo, the brother of the famous Pizarro, ſet himſelf at the head of his brother's partizans, with whom many new malecontents had joined intereſts. It was now longer a private diſpute between governors, about the bounds of their juriſdiction. Gonzalo Pizarro paid no more than a nominal ſubmiſſion to the king. He daily accumulated ſtrength and reſources; and even went ſo far, as to decapitate a governor who had been ſent to curb him. He attached to his intereſt the admiral of the Spaniſh fleet in the South Seas; by whoſe means he propoſed to prevent the landing of troops from Spain; and in the plenitude of his preſumption, meditated to unite the inhabitants of Mexico in his revolt.

In this wretched ſituation ſtood affairs, when the Spaniſh court, ſenſible of its miſtake in ſending men into America from the influence of minions and the ſolicitations of cabals, without any regard to character and virtue, diſpatched with unlimited authority Peter de la Gaſga, a man of equal integrity with Caſtro, but ſuperior in the arts of addreſs. Theſe, however, were not uſed to cloak vice or maſk hypocriſy: a natural love of juſtice, a greatneſs of ſoul, and a diſintereſted ſpirit, were inherent qualities in both; but Gaſga ſet off theſe amiable qualities to advantage by the ſoft poliſh of conciliating manners.

All thoſe who had not joined in Pizarro's revolt, began to flock under his ſtandard; and

many

many of Pizarro's partizans, charmed with the behaviour of Gaſga, forſook their old connections. The admiral was gained over by inſinuation to return to his duty and allegiance; and Pizarro himſelf was offered a full indemnity on the ſame terms. But ſo intoxicating are the ideas of royalty, that Pizarro choſe rather to hazard irretrievable ruin than ſubmit to any officer of Spain. With thoſe of his partizans, who ſtill remained faithful to his cauſe, he determined to riſk a battle. He was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner; and his execution ſpeedily followed. Thus the brother of him who had added Peru to the dominions of Spain, fell a neceſſary ſacrifice for the ſecurity of the acquiſition.

GENERAL CHARACTER

AND

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ABORIGINAL AMERICANS.*

THE ſucceſsful diſcoveries, and valuable acquiſitions of the Spaniards on the rich continent of South America, ſoon excited the attention of other European nations to purſue ſimilar meaſures by ſimilar means; but the detail of their different expeditions, and of the revolutions that have taken place, neither falls within our plan, nor would it be generally intereſting. It is ſufficiently known, that flouriſhing colonies and independent ſtates now exiſt, which were planted along that very extenſive coaſt, reaching from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence in North America, to Rio de la Plata in the South, ſome of which ſpread far within land; beſides the iſlands in the gulph of Mexico and elſewhere. A deſcription of theſe falls within the province of the geographer alone; but before we proceed in our intended courſe, it may not be amiſs to throw together the general

* Chiefly taken from Lafitau, Major Rogers's account of North America, Colonel Bouquet's expedition againſt the Ohio Indians, Guthrie's Geography, &c. &c.

obſervations

obſervations of various writers on the original inhabitants of this vaſt continent; to preſerve the traces of character which time may obliterate, or an intercourſe with Europeans efface. Such a diſquiſition will be no leſs gratifying to him who reads for pleaſure, than to him who reads for profit. It will aſſiſt the ſpeculations of the philoſopher, and amuſe the leiſure of the buſy.

When the veil was withdrawn that hid one half of the world from the other, the Europeans found the natives of the new-diſcovered regions immerſed in what they reckoned barbariſm; but which, however, ought rather to be characteriſed as a ſtate of honeſt independence and noble ſimplicity. If we except the inhabitants of the two potent empires of Mexico and Peru, who, as we have ſeen, were comparatively refined, the natives of America in general were unacquainted with every European art. Even agriculture itſelf, one of the firſt and by far the moſt uſeful art, was little known, or little cultivated. The principle dependence for ſupplying the wants of animal life, was on hunting the wild beaſts which the mountains and foreſts abundantly ſupplied. This exerciſe, which is here a ſerious and important ſtudy, gives a ſtrength to the frame and agility to the limbs, unparalleled among other nations. To the ſame cauſe, perhaps, it is owing, that in climates not too warm, their bodies are uncommonly ſtraight, and well proportioned. They are muſcular and vigorous, with flattiſh heads, which is the effect of art; their features are regular; but their modes of life give a fierceneſs to their aſpects. Their hair is long, black, and of a ſtrong texture. The colour of the ſkin is a reddiſh brown: this is the tint moſt admired among

among them, and is therefore heightened by the uſe of bear's greaſe and paint.

The character of theſe people is formed on, and influenced by their circumſtances and way of living. Conſtantly occupied in procuring the means of a precarious ſubſiſtence by hunting; and frequently at the ſame time engaged in war with their neighbours, their temper is little ſuited to gaiety, nor ſubject to an exhilaration of ſpirits. They are therefore generally grave to ſadneſs: they poſſeſs none of that giddy vivacity, that high flow of ſoul which are peculiar to ſome nations in other parts of the world, and they deſpiſe them. Their deportment is regular, modeſt, and reſpectful to thoſe with whom they aſſociate. Unacquainted with the pleaſing arts of converſation, of ſaying trifles agreeably, or complimenting to be complimented again; they ſeldom ſpeak but when they have ſomething important to obſerve. All their actions, words, and even looks, are calculated to anſwer ſome purpoſe, and convey ſome meaning. This is natural to men who are always engaged in laborious purſuits, and ignorant of elegant amuſements. Their ſubſiſtence wholly depends on their own toil and exertions: their lives, their liberty, all that is dear may be loſt by a momentary inattention to the views and deſigns of their enemies. Having no objects to attach them to one place more than another, they rove wherever the neceſſaries of life are to be found in the greateſt abundance. Cities and towns, the reſult of labour and application to arts, they have none. For this reaſon, the various tribes or nations are broken into ſmall ſocieties, compared with civilized countries, in which, mutual wants and a reciprocal

reciprocal interchange of benefits have congregated numerous individuals into one political band. Theſe ſmall tribes are thinly diſperſed; they are inſulated by a deſert frontier, which it is an aggreſſion to paſs; and hid in the boſom of everlaſting and almoſt impenetrable foreſts.

A certain ſpecies of government is eſtabliſhed in every particular ſociety, which with little variation prevails over the greateſt part of this continent. Their manners and modes of life being nearly ſimilar, ſo are their civil inſtitutions alſo. Devoid of arts, riches, or luxury, the inſtruments of ſubjection in poliſhed ſociety, and the incentives to obtain rule, an American has no means of rendering himſelf conſiderable among his countrymen, but by a ſuperiority in perſonal qualities, or mental endowments.

But as nature has not been very laviſh in her diſtinctions, and the means of education are the ſame to all, there is a great degree of equality among them, and a deſire to maintain it. Hence liberty is the prevailing paſſion, to which all others are ſubſervient; and their government, influenced by this ſentiment, is as effectually ſecured as by the wiſeſt political regulations. They are far, however, from deſpiſing an authority, which they conſider as legitimate, or from diſclaiming a ſubjection to its decrees. The voice of wiſdom is heard with regard; the experience of the aged is reſpected by the young; and they are ready to enliſt under the banners of the chief whoſe proweſs has entitled him to diſtinction, whoſe military addreſs has inſpired them with confidence.

In every tribe, therefore, the power of a ſingle chief, or of the collective body of the elders prevails;

prevails; and as the government inclines more to the one or the other, it may be regarded as monarchical or ariſtocratical; but founded on talents alone. Where war is the frequent peſt, the power of the chief is predominant, becauſe the neceſſity of having a leader was the origin of his ſuperiority; and the continual exigencies of the ſtate will continue to ſupport and enhance the right to command. The power of the chieftain, however, is rather kept up by perſuaſive arts, than coercive reſtraints: he is reverenced as a father rather than dreaded as a monarch. He maintains no guards, he commands no priſons, he appoints no officers of juſtice; and one act of unjuſt violence or arbitrary ſway would hurl him from his rank and his power.

In the other form of government, the power of the elders is equally limited and exerciſed for ſimilar ends. In ſome tribes, indeed, there is a kind of hereditary ariſtocracy, which having gained influence by time, has proportionable effects. But this ſource of power, ſo uſeful in nations that are civilized, by which we annex to the deſcendant the merit of the anceſtor, is too refined an idea to be very common among the natives of America. In moſt ſocieties, therefore, age alone is ſufficient to create reſpect, influence, and authority. It is age which teaches experience, and experience is the only ſource of knowledge, among a people untutored in art which anticipates years.

Buſineſs is here tranſacted with a ſimplicity which realizes the deſcriptions of early ages. The heads of families aſſemble on a ſpot appointed for the purpoſe; and here thoſe of the nation who are moſt diſtinguiſhed for eloquence or wiſ-

dom,

dom, have an opportunity of diſplaying their talents in the public diſcuſſion. The Indian orator, flowery, figurative, ſtrong, but unrefined in his expreſſion, accompanies his words with correſponding geſtures. When the buſineſs is diſpatched, they appoint a feaſt on the occaſion, and almoſt the whole nation partakes of what ſtores they poſſeſs. Every feaſt is enlivened with a ſong in which the real or fabulous exploits of their heroes are recorded. They have dances too, partaking of the military character, and theſe are the conſtant accompaniment of a feaſt. Sometimes, in their wide excurſions after prey, two different nations meet. If no animoſity ſubſiſt between them, they behave to each other in the moſt friendly and courteous ſtyle. But if they happen to be in a ſtate of hoſtility, which is too often the caſe; or if there has been no previous intercourſe between them, for all who are not friends are deemed enemies, they diſplay the moſt ſavage fury in inſtant fight.

War and hunting are the only occupations of the men. As to every domeſtic concern, even agriculture, where it is attended to, falls to the province of the women. Among a people where there is ſo little property, it might be ſuppoſed wars would be rare. This unfortunately is not the caſe. A very ſimple cauſe will ſometimes give riſe to hoſtilities. An accidental rencounter or interference, a deſire to revenge ſome loſs friend, or to make priſoners to aſſiſt in hunting is a ſufficient excuſe for proceeding to extremities. Their wars are either undertaken by private adventurers, or at the inſtance of the whole community. In the latter caſe, all the youth who are diſpoſed to go to battle, for no one

compelled

ompelled, give the chief a bit of wood, as a ledge that they will ſtand by him. Nothing is ndertaken or tranſacted without many forms nd ceremonies. Theſe are deemed ſacred and ſſential, and are regarded as binding when once aſſed.

The deſtined leader faſts for ſeveral days, dur- ng which he is ſequeſtered from company, and ndulges in the viſionary belief of dreams, hich the heated imagination is apt to produce orreſpondent to the wiſh excited. A variety f other ſuperſtitions are practiſed. One of the oſt terrible we ſhall particularize: It is ſetting e war-kettle on the fire, as a ſymbol of the eſtruction that awaits their foes. Among ſome ations it is certain that this ſymbol had a preciſe eaning. They actually devoured thoſe whom ey took priſoners; and now, when this inhu- an practice is by no means very frequent, they reſerve the emblem to rouſe their indignant ffions. Then they diſpatch a porcelain, or rge ſhell, to their allies, inviting them to unite nd drink the blood of their enemies. The ſame ve, the ſame reſentment animate friends: no ld medium is known. Friendſhip and enmity e here carried to the higheſt pitch. This is hat may naturally be expected from their pecu- r circumſtances: the more that principle, hich is the ſpring of ſocial affections, is reſtrain- , the more violently it operates. The Ameri- ns, living in ſmall ſocieties, ſeeing few objects, d knowing few perſons, become enthuſiaſti- lly attached to thoſe objects and perſons, and e miſerable when they feel a deprivation. Too nfined in their ideas, their breaſts are incapa- e of expanding to general benevolence; even

ordinary humanity is thought a weakneſs. Bu
while this renders them cruel and ſavage to thei
enemies, it adds a new force to their partia
friendſhips or their particular confederates. With
out carrying this reflection along in the mind, i
would be impoſſible to account for many of thei
actions.

Having finiſhed the previous ceremonies o
war, they black their faces with charcoal, inter
mixed with ſtreaks of red, which gives ther
a moſt ferocious and horrid appearance. The
then exchange their cloaths with their friend
and diſpoſe of whatever articles they value mo
among the women, who accompany them to
diſtance, to receive thoſe pledges of love, ſhoul
their ſeparation be eternal.

War being commenced, the grand qualitie
are vigilance to prevent ſurpriſe, and attentio
to give one: and in theſe reſpects the Indian
are ſuperior to all other nations. Accuſtomed t
a wandering life, their perceptions ſharpened b
keen neceſſity, and in every reſpect followin
nature, their external ſenſes have acquired a de
gree of acuteneſs which is almoſt incredible
They can trace out their enemies at an immen
diſtance by the ſmell of their fires, and by the track
of their feet, imperceptible to an European eye
but which they can count and diſtinguiſh with th
utmoſt preciſion. They can even diſcriminate th
different nations with which they are acquainted
and can determine the exact time when the
paſſed, where no European, with the aſſiſtanc
of glaſſes, could diſtinguiſh a trace. Theſe advan
tages, however, are of ſmall importance, becau
their enemies no leſs poſſeſs them. When the
go out, therefore, they avoid making uſe of an
thin

thing by which they might hazard a diſcovery. They refrain from the uſe of fires; they lie cloſe to the ground by day, and travel only by night; and advancing in files, he who cloſes the rear, covers with leaves the veſtiges that are left. When they halt for refreſhment, ſcouts are ſent out to reconnoitre every ſpot where an enemy can be concealed. In this manner, they enter unawares the territories of their foes; and while the flower of the men are perhaps abroad in hunting, maſſacre all the women, children, and aged perſons, or make priſoners of as many as they can carry off or employ.

But ſhould the enemy be apprized of their deſign, and advance to the combat in arms, they throw themſelves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves; and ſtarting all at once from their ambuſh, with a tremendous ſhout, aſſail their foes. The party attacked returns the ſame cry. Where trees can be uſed as a ſhelter, each retires behind one, till prepared to repeat the blow; and thus does the battle continue till one party is ſo far weakened, as to be incapable of farther reſiſtance. But ſhould the force on both ſides remain nearly the ſame, the fierce ſpirits of the ſavages, inflamed by the loſs of their friends, can no longer ſubmit to regular attack or ordinary precautions. They abandon the diſtant war; they ruſh on each other with clubs and hatchets, magnifying their own courage, and inſulting the foe with the moſt bitter invectives. Death now appears in a thouſand hideous forms. Heedleſs of any thing but revenge, they trample on the wounded; they inſult even the dead; they ſcalp; they wallow in blood; and even devour the fleſh with a mad ferocity. The flame rages

on till reſiſtance dies away. The priſoners are then ſecured. Unhappy men! the fate of their ſlaughtered companions was mild to theirs. The conquerors, as they approach their own village, ſet up a hideous howl, to bewail the friends they have loſt: they approach in a melancholy and ſtern gloom. A meſſenger precedes them, and the women, with frightful ſhrieks, come out to mourn their private loſſes. When they reach their abodes, the chief in a low tone relates to the elders a circumſtantial account of the expedition, with all its turns. The orator then proclaims this intelligence to the people; and as he recounts the names of thoſe who have fallen, the cries of the females increaſe. The men too join in the expreſſion of ſorrow, according as each is connected with the deceaſed by the ties of blood or friendſhip. The laſt ceremony is the proclamation of victory. Each individual then endeavours to forget his private misfortunes, and joins to celebrate the triumphs of his tribe. The ſhrieks are ſuſpended, the tears wiped away; and by a wonderful tranſition, they paſs from the bitterneſs of grief to the extravagance of exultation. But the treatment of the priſoners yet remains to be detailed; it is that which chiefly characterizes the ſavages; it is that which ſhocks the civilized, and ſhews the advantages of refinement.

It has been already obſerved, that among the Indians, general philanthropy is a principle unfelt. Intenſe in their affections for their friends, they appear inſenſible that their enemies can be too inhumanly tormented. The feelings of nature are loſt in their rage; and from the individual

dual who has injured, the ſame reſentment is extended to all his tribe.

The priſoners, actuated by the ſame principles, know what awaits them, and prepare for the event. The perſon who has taken the captive attends him to the cottage; when, according to the diſtribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered up to ſupply the loſs of a member of their community. If thoſe who receive him think his ſervices will be uſeful to them, he is immediately adopted into the family and becomes one of its number in every reſpect. But if they have no occaſion to augment their ſociety, or if reſentment for the loſs of their friends ſtimulates them to ſeek revenge on all who were acceſſary to it, the ſentence is inevitable death.

In this caſe, all who have received the ſame ſevere doom are collected; and the whole nation is aſſembled, as if to celebrate ſome diſtinguiſhed feſtival. A ſcaffold is erected, where the priſoners, being tied to the ſtake, commence the death ſong, and prepare for their approaching fate with undaunted mind. Their ungenerous and ſavage enemies, on the other hand, are determined to put their courage to the proof, by the moſt exquiſite tortures. They begin the work of death at the extremities of the body, and gradually approach the vitals. One plucks out the nails of the captive by a ſlow proceſs, another tears off the fleſh of a finger with his teeth, and a third thruſts the lacerated member into the bowl of a red-hot pipe, which he ſmokes like tobacco. They then pound the toes and fingers to pieces between ſtones: they ſtrip the fleſh with their teeth, and trace circles about the joints, and gaſhes in the muſcular parts, which

they immediately ſear with red-hot irons, cut-
ting, burning, and pinching alternately. Th-
fleſh, thus mangled and roaſted, is ſometimes de-
voured with greedineſs morſel by morſel, whil-
the blood ſerves to ſmear their faces, and to giv-
the tormentors a look as infernal as their hearts.

Having torn off the fleſh, they twiſt the bar-
nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing an-
ſnapping them; while others are employed i-
ſtretching the limbs every way that ingenuit-
can deviſe, to increaſe the torment. This proce-
continues for five or ſix hours together; and ſuch
is the ſtrength and fortitude of ſavages, that it ha-
ſometimes been extended to days.

To protract the work of death, they ſometime-
unbind the captive, to give a reſpite to their fu-
ry, and to invent new inflictions. He is again
faſtened to the ſtake, and again they renew thei-
cruelty. Even amid the temporary reſpite they
ſometimes give him, it has been known that a
profound ſleep has overtaken the victim, and tha-
the application of fire was neceſſary to awake
him. He is now ſtuck over with matches o-
wood, eaſily kindled, but ſlow in conſuming:
they pierce the body in every part with reeds;
they pull out the teeth, they ſcoop out the eyes;
and laſtly, having mangled the frame in ſuch a
manner that it is only one continued wound,
having mutilated the face ſo as to leave nothing
human in it, and carried barbarity to its moſt
exalted pitch, they again unbind the wretch.
Now blind, faultering, falling, aſſailed with ſtones
and clubs, and paſſive of the worſt, one of the
chiefs, perhaps, wearied of cruelty, rather than ſa-
tiated with revenge, gives him a coup-de-grace
with a dagger or a club. The body is then com-
mitted

mitted to the kettle, and a barbarous feaſt is the winding up of this diſmal tragedy.

In moſt countries the female character is diſtinguiſhed for a ſuperior degree of ſoftneſs and humanity; here the women if poſſible outdo the men in this ſcene of horror, while the principal perſons of the country form a circle round the ſtake, and ſmoke on without emotion. But what will moſt ſurpriſe is, that the ſufferer himſelf, in the intervals of his torments, ſmokes too, and converſes with indifference. Indeed, ſeldom does a groan eſcape him amidſt the moſt aggravated ſufferings. He endures them all with a fortitude and a conſtancy more than human. He poſſeſſes his mind unmoved; not a diſtortion of face betrays the anguiſh he endures. He recounts his exploits; he boaſts what cruelties he has inflicted on their countrymen, and menaces them with the revenge that will attend his death. Though exaſperated to madneſs by his reproaches, he continues his inſults, upbraids them with their ignorance in the ſcience of tormenting; and points out more efficacious means. Even the women poſſeſs the ſame degree of reſolution and torture: to ſuffer without emotion is the pride, the glory of an Indian. Such is the force of inbred habits, and a ferocious thirſt of fame.

We have dwelt the larger on theſe circumſtances of cruelty, becauſe they illuſtrate a poſition we wiſh to enforce. Degrading as ſuch recitals are to human nature, they ſhould not be heard in vain. Such an inconceivable degree of barbarity, paſſions carried to ſuch a pitch, ſhew what man is without the refinements of ſociety; and prove the value of a conduct influenced by the

the dictates of Chriſtianity. This amiable, thi
heavenly religion teaches compaſſion to our very
enemies, which is neither recommended or prac-
tiſed in other inſtitutions. But though the im-
preſſions of a pure religion will be always moſt
deeply felt, and therefore the moſt permanent,
we are not a little indebted to the light of litera-
ture, to the intercourſe of commerce, and to the
arts of civilization, for that pre-eminence over
ſavage life which it is our felicity to poſſeſs. By
thoſe advantages, combined with revelation, the
the ſting is taken from our natural vices, and the
ferocity of our tempers is ſubdued.

The hiſtory of human nature does not furniſh
a ſtronger contraſt than this cruelty of the ſa-
vages towards thoſe with whom they are at war,
and the warmth of their affection to their friends;
and theſe, in an extended ſenſe, conſiſt of all thoſe
who form the ſame ſociety, or are joined in alli-
ance with it. Their indiſtinct notions of private
property may partially account for this; but
more is to be aſcribed to the force of genuine
attachment. It is not only with their property
that they are ready to ſerve their friends; their
lives, their honour, are devoted to the ſame end;
their houſes, their proviſions, even their young wo-
men are freely conferred on their gueſts. Has a
friend been unſucceſsful in hunting? has his harvest
failed? has his hut been deſtroyed by tempeſt or
fire? He feels no other effect of his calamity
than as it gives him an opportunity to experience
the benevolence and regard of his fellow citizens.

But to the enemies of his nation, or to his pri-
vate offender, the American is implacable. He
conceals his ſentiments, and he broods over
revenge, whenever the blow can be ſtruck with
unerring aim. No length of time is ſufficient to
allay

allay his reſentment; no diſtance of place to protect the object of his fury. He croſſes mountains, he pierces foreſts, he traverſes bogs and deſerts; bearing the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the fatigue of the expedition, and the extremes of hunger and thirſt with patient cheerfulneſs, in hopes of ſurpriſing his enemy, and of executing his horrid revenge. Such are the extremes of friendſhip and enmity among ſavages; and all ſtrong but uncultivated minds feel the ſame general bias.

But what we have hitherto ſaid of the ſtrength of their friendſhip conveys but a faint idea of the full extent to which they carry this lovely virtue. It is not only the living, but the dead who are the objects of attachment and regard. When any member of the ſociety is cut off, he is lamented by the whole with a thouſand demonſtrations of genuine ſorrow. One of the moſt remarkable ceremonies uſed on this melancholy occaſion, and which diſcovers both the intenſeneſs and the continuance of their grief, is what they denominate the feaſt of ſouls. This day of awful form is appointed by public order; and no care is neglected to render the celebration magnificently ſolemn. The neighbouring tribes are invited to join in the ſolemnity. On this occaſion, all who have died ſince the laſt commemoration (which is renewed every eight or ten years) are diſinterred, and brought to the general rendezvous of corruption.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the horror of this ſcene in more lively terms than thoſe which Lafitau has uſed. Unqueſtionably, ſays he, the opening of theſe tombs diſplays one of the moſt ſtriking ſcenes that can be conceived; this humbling portrait

portrait of human misery, in so many images
death, wherein she seems to take a pleasure
paint herself in a thousand various shapes of ho
ror, according to the degree in which corruptio
has prevailed over them, or the manner in whic
it has attacked them. Some appear dry an
withered; others have a sort of parchment o
their bones; some look as if they were baked an
smoked, without any appearance of putridity
some are just verging to the point of putrefaction
while others are swarming with worms, and
mass of corruption. I know not which ought
strike us most; the horror of such a shockin
sight, or the tender pity and affection of the
poor people towards their departed friends. F
nothing deserves our admiration more, than th
eager zeal and attention with which they di
charge this melancholy duty of their respect; g
thering up carefully even the minutest bone
handling the carcases, disgustful as they are wi
every thing loathsome, cleansing them from th
worms, and carrying them on their shoulde
through tiresome journeys of several days, with
out sinking under their burden, or the offen
siveness of the smell, and without suffering an
emotions to intrude, but those of regret for hav
ing lost persons so dear to them in life, so lamen
ed in death.

Having brought the remains into their co
tages, they prepare a feast in honour of the dead
during which their heroic actions are celebrate
and all the tender intercourses that took plac
between them and their surviving friends are p
ously called to mind. Even the strangers, wh
sometimes attend from very remote tribes, join i
the tender condolence; and the natural shriek

f the females prove, that they are penetrated ith the ſharpeſt ſorrow. The dead are then rried out to be re-interred. A large pit is dug the ground; and thither, at a certain time, ch perſon, attended by his family and friends, arches in ſolemn ſilence, bearing the duſt of a ear and tender relation. When they are all nvened, the dead bodies are depoſited in the it together, with what valuables they moſt eſ- emed, and even the preſents of ſtrangers; and en the torrent of grief breaks out afreſh. Af- r this they deſcend into the pit; and each ſup- lies himſelf with a little of the earth, which is reſerved with religious care. The bodies, rang- in order, are covered with freſh furs, and over eſe with bark, on which they heap wood, earth, d ſtones. Then taking a laſt adieu, they re- rn to their homes.

We have juſt obſerved, that the Indians offer neral preſents to the dead of whatever they lue moſt highly. This univerſal cuſtom among em, and which is diſſeminated over various rts of the world, where there exiſts no common igin nor even accidental communication, ariſes m a rude notion of the immortality of the ul. This doctrine is firmly believed among e Americans; and is the baſis of all their reli- on. When the ſoul is ſeparated from the dy, they conceive that it ſtill continues to ver round it, and to require, and take delight the ſame things as were formerly beloved. ter a certain period, however, they ſuppoſe t it forſakes this dreary ſtate, and wings its ght far weſtward into the land of ſpirits. They ve even made diſcrimination, in their creed, in other world: ſome, particularly eminent warriors,

warriors, they imagine poſſeſs a high degree
felicity in another life; enjoy a ſtation for hun
ing and fiſhing which never fails; and ent
into the fruition of every ſenſual delight witho
the labour of purſuit. The ſouls of thoſe, o
the contrary, who have acted daſtardly or bee
unfortunate in war, they ſet down as extreme
miſerable.

Thus the ſtudy of war, which forms the pri
cipal ingredient in their character, deeply tin
tures their religion alſo: Areſkoui, or the God
Battle, is the ſupreme deity of the Indians. Hi
they invoke before they take the field; and a
cording as they fancy, he is more or leſs prop
tious to their entreaties, they conclude their e
terpriſes will be more or leſs ſucceſsful. Son
nations pay adoration to the ſun and moo
among others are many traditions relative to t
creation of the world, and their peculiar the
gony. In point of inconſiſtency and abſurdit
theſe traditions outdo the Grecian fables. B
religion is not the prevailing character of th
people; and except when they think they ha
immediate occaſion for the favour of the go
they pay them no kind of homage. Like
rude nations, however, they are ſtrongly addi
ed to ſuperſtition. They believe in the exiſten
of a number of good and bad ſpirits, or gen
who control the affairs of men, and have the d
tribution of happineſs or miſery. It is from t
evil genii, in particular, that their maladies a
ſuppoſed to proceed; and from the good, th
they expect a cure. The miniſters of the ge
are the jugglers, who are alſo the only phy
cians among the Americans. Theſe they im
gine to be inſpired by the good genii, moſt co

monly in their dreams, with the gift of preſcience; and are therefore called in to the aſſiſtance of the ſick, whoſe fate they are judged capable of predicting, by the intervention of their familiar ſpirits. But thoſe inviſible agents are extremely ſimple in their ſyſtem of phyſic: they direct the jugglers to treat all diſeaſes nearly in a ſimilar manner; and, perhaps, the ſimplicity of medical preſcriptions is the beſt ſecurity of the patient, even where men have gained all poſſible knowledge in the healing art. The ſick Indian is generally incloſed in a narrow cabin, in the midſt of which is a ſtone red hot; on this they pour water till he is well ſoaked with the warm fluid and his own perſpiration. Then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him ſuddenly into the neareſt river. This coarſe mode of treatment performs many extraordinary cures, while it likewiſe hurries numbers to the grave. The jugglers have alſo the uſe of ſome noſtrums of wonderful efficacy; and almoſt every ſavage is dexterous in the cure of wounds. But the aids of magic are always called in, to give power to the application of remedies.

Though religion is not a very prevailing ſentiment among the ſavages, religious impoſtors are as numerous here as in any country; and ſome of them act their part with much dexterity and ſucceſs. Theſe, when their character is once eſtabliſhed on the popular belief of their ſupernatural powers, not only preſcribe laws and obſervances, but even undertake to unfold the myſteries of futurity, and to ſolve and interpret viſions and dreams. They, in general, repreſent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhauſtible plenty of every thing deſirable;

and that the full and exquiſite gratification of all the ſenſes ſhall be the reward of the conduct they preſcribe. Hence the Indians meet death with a ſtoical apathy. The news, that they have but a few hours to live, communicates no alarm. An American, on the brink of eternity, harangues his family and friends with ſpirit and compoſure; and gives his dying advice with the ſame collected mind, as if he was directing in daily occupations.

It will immediately be recogniſed, that the preceding remarks apply chiefly to the North American Indians. In our account of the conqueſts of Mexico and Peru it appeared, that the original inhabitants of South America were very different. Such of the inhabitants of the new world as firſt fell under the obſervation of Europeans, differed eſſentially from thoſe we have juſt deſcribed, and from the generality of people in the ancient hemiſphere. They differed in features and complexion; they were not only averſe to toil, but apparently incapable of enduring it; and when forcibly rouſed from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they ſunk under taſks which the inhabitants of the old world would have executed with eaſe. This imbecility of conſtitution ſeemed endemial in South America. The Spaniards were alſo ſtruck with the moderation of their appetites for food. The conſtitutional temperance of the natives far exceeded the moſt rigid abſtinence of mortified hermits; while, on the other hand, the appetites of the Spaniards appeared to them inſatiably voracious; and they affirmed, that one European would conſume ten times as much as they did. But though their demands were ſo moderate,

their

their agriculture was ſcarcely equal to their own conſumption. Many of the South American natives confined their induſtry to the rearing of a few plants, which a genial ſoil and warm climate nurtured without much care.

In ſhort, the inhabitants of South America, compared with thoſe of the North, are generally more feeble in their frames, and leſs vigorous in their mental efforts. Their ſpirit is more mild and gentle; but they are enervated by indolence and a love of pleaſure, and timid and irreſolute in all their purſuits.

In South America, the natives had made ſome progreſs in refinement: in North America, neither the ſoil nor the climate was favourable for luxurious indulgencies; and, therefore, the character of the natives is more ſtrongly marked, and poſſeſſes more energy. If, however, we proceed to the countries bordering on Cape Horn, we ſhall find the ſame hardy race as in the foreſts of the north. Climate has more influence on human nature than ſome are willing to allow; and though the virtues of the ſoul may exiſt in any, the energy both of the body and the mind will vary with extremes. Under the pole and the line they are either cramped by cold or enervated by heat: in the temperate zones, throughout the known world, man has always made the greateſt progreſs towards perfection; where neither peculiar inſtitutions nor modes of education have tended to cramp or debaſe the natural faculties with which he was born.

FIRST VOYAGE

OF

VASQUEZ DE GAMA,

TO THE

EAST INDIES,

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION ON THE ANTECEDENT DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE.

THOUGH the polarity of the magnet had been diſcovered about 1300, it was not applied to the purpoſes of navigation till 1405, when the Portugueſe ſeem to have converted what was before an object of curioſity only, into an engine the moſt powerful and the moſt uſeful in the hiſtory of human inventions.

Poſſeſſed of ſuch a diſcovery, favourably ſituated above all other nations for maritime adventures, and being animated with the ſpirit of enterpriſe, it is not to be wondered at, that the Portugueſe early gained celebrity for expeditions by ſea, which at laſt rouſed other nations to follow the ſame career.

It was, however, to the zeal and magnanimity of the Infant, Don Henry, the fifth ſon of King John, that this nation ſtands indebted for all the glory they have acquired by their diſcoveries and conqueſts in the oriental regions: and what increaſes our admiration is, that at this juncture, a long, a dangerous civil war had but juſt been

compoſed. The power of the king, too, was far from being great; his finances were extremely low, and his country ſo indifferently peopled that he was obliged to have recourſe to other nations, for men to recruit his armies, and to make up the complement of his fleets. Nor were theſe conſiderable, when compared with the navies employed by the King of Spain and the Republics of Italy. Yet under all theſe diſadvantages, the ſpirit of trade and navigation not only ſprang up, but grew and proſpered; and this too while many of the ſtateſmen were averſe to ſuch undertakings; weighing rather the certain expence, than the probable gain. But the zeal of the clergy overcame the oppoſition of the nobility; they were inſpired with a zeal for propagating the Chriſtian religion in new countries, and they promoted their diſcovery to the utmoſt.

By balancing the powers of the Portugueſe with the conqueſts they made in the eaſt, we ſhall be led to entertain a very high opinion of their exertions, and of the beneficial conſequences which reſulted from their ſucceſsful diſcoveries.

Don Henry, the patron of enterpriſe, was a prince endowed with all the great qualities which diſtinguiſh heroes from ordinary men. He had manifeſted his courage, in his youth, in his wars againſt the Moors; but his mind was too noble to value himſelf on the arts of deſtruction, however ſplendid. He wiſhed to proſecute only ſuch deſigns as might be beneficial to the human race.

Animated with this reſolution, he made himſelf maſter of the Canaries, by purchaſing the

gran

grant which the King of Caſtile had made to Maciot de Bethancourt. This gentleman, for a valuable conſideration, reſigned his rights into the hands of Prince Henry, about 1406. Ferdinand de Caſtro, at that time maſter of the prince's houſehold, was ſent to take poſſeſſion of them. Having now got the key to the coaſt of Africa, he ſoon began to fit out ſhips for diſcovery in that quarter, and manned them with the moſt able navigators he could procure.

The utmoſt limits of the continent of Africa, towards the ſouth-weſt, at that time known to the Portugueſe, was Cape Chaunar, called alſo Cape Non. It projects from the foot of Mount Atlas. The veſſels now ſent out proceeded about two degrees farther to Cape Bojadore; but they had not courage to double it. In 1418, Triſtan Vaz diſcovered the Iſle of Porto Santo. The next year, the Portugueſe fell in with the valuable iſland of Madeira, to which they gave that name, from its being covered with wood.

In 1439, a Portugueſe captain doubled Cape Bojadore, which ſome conſider as the Cape Canaria of Ptolemy. The next year they ventured yet farther to Cape Blanco; and ſoon after diſcovered the Rio del Oro, with ſeveral iſlands on the coaſt.

Nuno Triſtan doubled Cape Verd in 1446; and two years after, Gonzalo Vallo ſailed to the lands known by the appellation of the Azores. At that time they were uninhabited, and were ettled by this commander, who did not, however, viſit the iſlands of Flores and Corvo. Theſe were afterwards occupied by ſome Flemings.

In 1449, the Cape Verd iſlands were diſcovered under the patronage of Don Henry. The

progreſs

progreſs made by that prince gave great ſatisfac-
tion to the ſovereign of Portugal, who, to re-
ward his zeal, made him a grant of Madeira an
Porto Santo. The Infant, however, judged i
requiſite, according to the practice of the times
to obtain the ſanction of the Holy See. To nego-
tiate this, he ſent an ambaſſador to Pope Martin V
The Holy Father, being well diſpoſed to beſtow
that which coſt him nothing, made a free gran
to the crown of Portugal of all that ſhould b
diſcovered in that direction to the Indies. Th
Papal bull is dated in 1444, and was afterward
confirmed by three of his ſucceſſors, which
however, gave riſe to ſerious diſputes.

Judging from the reverence then paid to th
court of Rome, we muſt confeſs, that Princ
Henry ſhewed much political ſagacity in thi
tranſaction. For, by pretending that all coun
tries were to be diſpoſed of at the will and plea-
ſure of Rome, he ſecured his Holineſs' conſen
to whatever he demanded; and he well knew
that whatever was ſanctioned by his grant, would
infallibly be ſupported by the thunder of the va
tican. This great prince died in 1463; the con
tinent of Africa under his auſpices having bee
diſcovered from Cape Non to Cape Sierra Leona
which laid the foundation of all the ſubſequen
acquiſitions.

In 1471, Pedro d'Eſcovar diſcovered the Iſlan
of St. Thomas and Prince's Iſland; and ſoon a
ter Anno Bueno, now corruptly called Annobon
In 1484, Don Cam, a Portugueſe, ſailed to th
coaſt of Congo, and having received informatio
that a Chriſtian prince reigned in Ethiopia, h
magnified his power ſo much on his return, tha
John II. who was then on the throne, diſpatche
two

two truſty meſſengers to aſcertain the truth of what he had heard concerning this Chriſtian prince, whom he judged to be Preſter John; and at the ſame time to gain more ſatisfactory accounts of the ſtate of the Indies. The perſons who were intruſted with this charge were Pedro de Covillan and Alphonſo de Payva, who had ſtrict orders to commit to writing whatever they deemed worthy of remark; but more particularly, the ſituation of places, and the navigation of the coaſt of Ethiopia, by which it was rightly conjectured, a new route might be found to the Indies. Our travellers being perfect maſters of the Arabic tongue, proceeded to Alexandria and Cairo, and from thence to the port of Aden in Arabia, where they had an opportunity of converſing with traders of all nations, and many natives of India. This enabled them to accumulate a vaſt quantity of uſeful information, which they thought would be highly gratifying to the king. Here they judged it expedient to ſeparate: the one to make a tour of the Indies, and the other to proceed to the court of Ethiopia.

Accordingly, Pedro de Covillan ſet out for the Indies; and having made an exact map of the coaſts, croſſed the ſea to Africa; and after having viſited ſome of the principal ports in the Arabian Gulph, arrived at Sofala, fully convinced, from many concurring teſtimonies, that a ſhort and eaſy paſſage might be found to the eaſt, round the continent of Africa. Elated with theſe ſentiments, he made the beſt of his way to Cairo, where he hoped to rejoin his companion. But he had the ſorrow to hear, that De Payva had been murdered on the road to Ethiopia. For

ſome

ſome time he was irreſolute how he could beſt fulfil the objects of his miſſion; but after mature reflection, he determined to acquaint the king by letter of the diſcoveries he had made; and then to purſue his route to Ethiopia. This reſolution ſhewed his zeal in the cauſe in which he was engaged, and his ardent deſire of ſatisfying the prince he ſerved. He began his ſecond journey with the ſame good fortune as he had executed the firſt; and was extremely well received by Alexander, Emperor of Abyſſinia, who was much flattered by the proſpect of the friendſhip of ſuch a powerful prince as the King of Portugal; and promiſed to diſpatch the ambaſſador with letters expreſſive of that impreſſion. However, Alexander dying ſuddenly, his ſucceſſor not only treated Covillan with coolneſs, but with diſreſpect and cruelty; refuſed him leave to return home, and detained him till it was concluded in Portugal, that ſome fatal accident had befallen him. However, he lived to recover his liberty.

While his Portugueſe Majeſty endeavoured to gain a due knowledge of the ſtate of the Indies by land, he was not inattentive to the proſecution of the ſame object by ſea. To facilitate this deſign, he employed Bartholomew Diaz, one of his courtiers, to proceed ſtill farther along the coaſt of Africa. This man, to great prudence and deep ſkill in navigation, united invincible courage; and in 1486 he executed his commiſſion with equal conduct and ſucceſs. He carried out with him ſeveral negroes, who had long been in his ſervice: theſe he ſet aſhore at different places, well dreſſed and furniſhed with ſome goods

goods, on purpose to allure the natives by the show of kindness and generosity.

After coasting along, farther than any navigator had hitherto done, he arrived in view of a lofty cape, where meeting with most unfavourable weather, and losing his victualling bark, his crew mutinied, on the pretext that storms and famine were too much to encounter at once. But the captain represented to them, that the former could not be escaped by returning, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they could reach some place where refreshments were to be had. He thus prevailed on them to double the cape, and sail some distance beyond it, where he erected a stone cross, as he had done wherever he touched along the coast, by way of taking possession in his master's name. Having obtained a small supply of provisions, he returned; and had the good fortune to fall in with his store ship, in which, of nine men left when they parted, only three survived, and one of these died of joy at seeing the captain.

After performing a voyage of sixteen months and seven days, and discovering upwards of one thousand miles of the coast beyond the former limits, he arrived at Lisbon in December 1487.

Having given a full detail of his expedition, particularly insisted on the danger and difficulty he had found in doubling that stupendous promontory, which he named Cabo Tormentoso, or the Stormy Cape. But the king, from the hints thrown on the subject by Covillan's letters, which had arrived safe, knew how to form a right judgment of the value of this discovery, and therefore called it Cabo del Buena Esperanza,

za, or the Cape of Good Hope *, a name which it has ever retained. The coincidence between the accounts of the navigator and the ambaſſador convinced the king, that the paſſage was now open; and that one voyage more would complete the diſcovery of a direct paſſage by ſea to the Indies.

But while John revolved this great deſign in his mind, and buſied himſelf in contriving the means of accompliſhing it with honour to himſelf and advantage to his country, the Eternal Ruler of all called him to another ſtate of being. In his laſt illneſs he nominated his couſin, Don Emanuel, who had alſo married his ſiſter, his heir and ſucceſſor.

When this prince aſcended the throne of Portugal he was in the flower of his age, and poſſeſſed thoſe qualities, in an eminent degree, which dignify a king. He had an excellent capacity, much penetration, and a correct judgment; but, poſſeſſing an amiable diffidence of his own abilities and being well aware, that the execution of his predeceſſor's projects would be attended with a large expence, he privately declined entering into them without conſulting his council. The ſtateſmen being, however, put in poſſeſſion of all the information that had been collected, either by the reigning prince or his couſin King John, were extremely divided in their opinions. Some preſſed him to purſue the ſteps of his anceſtors and to complete with glory what they had begun with reputation; while others vehemently oppoſed the proſecution of this deſign; and o

* It is with the ſincereſt ſatisfaction the writer reflects, th this valuable Cape is now in the poſſeſſion of his countr May it remain ſo to the end of time!

both ſides he was aſſailed, as is uſual, with ſuch plauſible arguments, that neither could confute the other, and reaſon hung in the balance of ſuſpenſe.

The advocates for the new navigation contended, that the commerce of the eaſt had been the ſource of wealth and power to every empire that had poſſeſſed it; that Providence ſeemed to have thrown to it into the lap of their nation, and therefore, it would neither be honourable nor advantageous to reject it; that the chief difficulties were now overcome, and ſcarcely any thing remained but to take poſſeſſion of what all the world was eager to enjoy, though none but themſelves knew how to reach; that the engroſſing ſo rich a trade to Portugal would balance the narrow limits of its ſovereignty, and put it on a level with its more potent neighbours; that, in fine, there was no leſs danger to be apprehended from abandoning the deſign, than benefit to be expected by its proſecution; ſince it was probable their ambitious neighbours, the Spaniards, would purſue and accompliſh this grand ſcheme; and thus enable them to effect whatever the luſt of power might tempt them to try.

On the other ſide, it was alleged, that there were many things more apparently neceſſary to the well-being of Portugal than ſuch expenſive expeditions, which involved an uncertain iſſue, ſince much land remained to be cultivated at home, and ſuch internal improvements might be adopted as would enrich the kingdom without diſtant dependencies; that the population of Portugal was too ſmall for its own extent, and would be ſtill more reduced by foreign conqueſts; that all their diſcoveries and acquiſi-

tions hitherto had only furniſhed a few negroes, elephants' teeth, exotic birds, and curioſities; that the golden dreams which had amuſed them for a century, had ended in deluſion; and that, finally, even the ſucceſs of the undertaking might be detrimental to Portugal, as it was poſſible her intereſts at home might be ſacrificed to thoſe abroad.

Theſe deliberations, in which the cauſe was canvaſſed with acuteneſs, though they did abſolutely carry the king to abandon the deſign which had been recommended to him with the laſt breath of the prince to whom he owed his throne, yet for a long time retarded his preparations, and determined him to purſue the project in ſuch a manner as would ſecure him from the diſgrace of ſerious loſs, if he did not reap the full harveſt of glory. At laſt, however, fearing leſt other powers ſhould take advantage of his neglect, eſpecially as the Spaniards were vigorouſly puſhing forward their diſcoveries, he came to a final reſolution, to ſend out a few ſhips only with a ſmall number of men; thus endeavouring to avoid extremes, and to ſteer, as it were, a middle courſe between the diſcordant opinions of his council.

In conſequence of this determination, in the ſpring of 1497, he ordered four ſhips to be equipped for his expedition; of theſe three were armed veſſels, and the other a ſtore ſhip. The whole force conſiſted of no more than one hundred and ſixty ſoldiers and ſeamen. Hence it will be extremely apparent, that it is not a formidable armament, or a vaſt expence, that is neceſſary to the accompliſhment of a great deſign; but the choice of a good officer, perfectly maſter of his plan, and poſſeſſing a reſolution equal to its

its completion. All the maritime expeditions, from the beginning of the world to this period of time, are not comparable to what were performed by Chriſtopher Columbus and Vaſquez de Gama, in the narrow compaſs of ſeven years, with a joint force ſcarcely adequate to man a fifty gun ſhip in the preſent day.

Before we enter on the hiſtory of a voyage, which laid open the treaſures of the eaſt by a new and eaſy communication by ſea, it may not be amiſs to premiſe, that hitherto the ſpices and other valuable productions of India and China, were brought in the junks and barks of thoſe countries to the port of Adlu, then a great commercial city on the ſouthern coaſt of Arabia Felix. Here theſe veſſels unloaded and returned, while the merchants of Adlu, partly relading the goods in their own ſhips, and partly ſending them by land carriage to Jeddo, conveyed them up the Red Sea to the port of Suez. They were then landed, and tranſported on camels and carriages over the iſthmus to the river Nile*, a paſſage

* Several of the Kings of Egypt, ſenſible of the vaſt advantages that would accrue to them from a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, endeavoured to cut one, at different times, with immenſe labour and expence. Herodotus informs us, that in the time of Pharoah Necho, or Nechus, this work was attempted, but obliged to be abandoned, after one hundred and twenty thouſand men had periſhed in the undertaking. This ſcheme was again reſumed under the Ptolemies, and again relinquiſhed, from the ſtupid apprehenſion that the Red Sea, being higher than Egypt by three cubits, would be in danger of overflowing the land. However, the expedient of a canal was adopted, to communicate between the Red Sea and the Nile; upon which the ports of the latter began to grow very opulent and renowned; and the cities of Coptus and Berenice, in particular, the

a paſſage of about fifty miles, and from thence to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants, who had monopolized that commerce, received them, and diſſeminated them over all Europe.

Such was the ſituation of affairs at the æra we are now to treat of. The perſon honoured with the command of the expedition for the diſcovery of the Indies was Don Vaſquez de Gama, a Portugueſe nobleman of various diſtinguiſhed talents, and particularly ſkilled in navigation. He was appointed admiral on this occaſion, and hoiſted his flag on board the St. Gabriel, of no more than one hundred and twenty tons burden. The other ſhips were the St. Raphael, commanded by Paul de Gama, the admiral's brother; and the Berrio, commanded by Nicholas Coello, beſides a bark laden with proviſions. Theſe ſhips ſet ſail from Belem on the 8th of July 1497, and after encountering continual ſtorms, in which they frequently deſpaired of being ſaved, had the good fortune at laſt to enter a large bay, to which they gave the appellation of St. Helena, from its having been diſcovered on the day dedicated to that ſaint.

The inhabitants of this iſland were of ſmall ſtature, ill-favoured and black. When they ſpoke, they fetched their breath as if they were ſighing; they were clothed in the ſkins of wild beaſts; and armed with ſtakes hardened in the fire, and pointed with the horns of beaſts.

The admiral ordered ſearch to be made for ſome river, but without ſucceſs; however, they found water next day. Gama, in his perambu-

mart of all the Indian merchandize. But neglect, in time, brought this canal to ruin and diſuſe.

lations,

lations, having picked up a native, who was gathering honey, carried him on board; but as they could not underſtand each other, he was ſoon after well dreſſed and ſet on ſhore. Next day, about fifteen of the inhabitants, pleaſed with the attention their countryman had received, came down to the beach; and the admiral meeting them diſplayed gold, pearl, and ſpices; but finding, from the indifference with which they viewed thoſe articles, they were unacquainted with their value, he preſented them with ſmall bells, tin rings, and counters, which were highly acceptable. In return, they ſupplied their benefactors with ſuch proviſions as the country afforded; but this friendly intercourſe was of ſhort duration. A young Portugueſe having a deſire to viſit their towns, was received by the natives with great hoſpitality, and invited to partake of a ſeal. This food diſagreeing with his ſtomach, he roſe and retired with ſigns of loathing and diſguſt; while the natives attended him to the ſhore. Suſpecting they might have ſome intentions to injure him, he called out for help; when ſome of his companions landing, behaved in ſuch a manner as made the Indians conſider the Portugueſe as their enemies. They ſoon returned with their lances; and while the admiral and his officers were ſtanding unarmed, they fell upon them, and wounded four of them, among which number was De Gama himſelf.

The Portugueſe having revenged this attack, though they were certainly the firſt aggreſſors, ſet ſail from St. Helena on the 16th of November, and in two days came in ſight of the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled on the 20th, with trumpets ſounding and other demonſtrations

of joy. As they coaſted along, the country exhibited a pleaſing proſpect of woods and lawns, abounding with flocks and herds. The admiral having run ſeventy leagues beyond the cape, entered a bay to which he gave the name of Angra de San Blas. The country in the vicinity of this bay appeared very fertile, and abounded with elephants and buffaloes.

A party of the natives were obſerved hovering round them, in a few days after their arrival; upon which the admiral landed with all his men, well armed and prepared for either event: but on throwing ſome ſmall bells towards the negroes, ſome of them aſſumed reſolution enough to approach and pick them up, and at laſt to receive them from the hand. The admiral now exchanged a few red caps for ivory bracelets.

A few days after, about two hundred natives came down with twelve oxen and four ſheep; and on the Portugueſe landing, began to play on a kind of muſical inſtrument, reſembling a flute, which they accompanied with the voice. The admiral ſtriking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to ſound, while his men mingled in the dance along with the natives, and thus the day paſſed in mirth and feſtivity.

Not long after a number of men and women returned with cattle, of whom the Portugueſe purchaſed an ox; but perceiving ſome of the negroes armed and ſkulking behind the buſhes, the admiral began to ſuſpect treachery, and ordered his men to retire to a place of ſecurity. The negroes followed them ſome way, and at laſt joined in a body, as if they intended to fight. De Gama, unwilling to proceed to extremities, withdrew his boats, and ordered two pieces of ordnance

ordnance to be fired, which ſo terrified the negroes that they fled without their arms. The admiral afterwards ſent ſome of his men aſhore to erect a pillar charged with a croſs and the King of Portugal's arms; but the natives pulled it down again before their faces.

On leaving this place they were ſoon overtaken by violent ſtorm. On Chriſtmas day they ſaw land, to which they gave the name of Terra de Natal. They then proceeded to a river called De los Reyes. Here De Gama ſent two men aſhore to obtain intelligence reſpecting the country and its produce. On thoſe dangerous employments he had malefactors to ſerve. A kind of traffic commenced; and ſo much was it carried on to the ſatisfaction of the natives, that the king of the country was induced to pay the admiral a viſit on board.

Again drawing near land on the 11th of January, the boats were manned to view it. In ſailing along, they ſaw many negroes of both ſexes, who ſeemed mild and inoffenſive. The admiral then ſent one of his men, who was well verſed in the languages of Africa, with an attendant, to wait on the king, who received them with affability, and diſmiſſed them with preſents. His majeſty, in return, received a red jacket, a cap, and a pair of ſtockings, of the ſame colour, with which he was ſo delighted, that he ſtrutted about in his finery among his ſubjects, who clapped their hands in token of joy and admiration. He likewiſe invited a young Portugueſe gentleman to viſit him, and entertained him with fowl and millet. The admiral alſo received a preſent of fowls; and ſo grateful was the reception he had met with in this place, that he called it the Land of

Good

Good People. The houſes were wholly of ſtraw; and apparently there was a greater number of females than males. They uſed bows and arrows pointed with iron; and ſhewed an amazing partiality for linen, which they purchaſed on any terms their circumſtances would allow.

Departing from thence on the 15th of January, they proceeded along a low flat coaſt, covered with large and lofty trees, as far as Cape Corientes: miſſing a ſight of Sofala, which lay in the way. On the 24th they entered the mouth of a very large river, up which De Gama proceeded with his boats; and had the pleaſure to obſerve, that the natives underſtood ſomething of navigation, no traces of which had hitherto been ſeen. The country they viſited is now called Cuama: its coaſt is generally low, but full of trees. Here the negroes came off in their boats without the leaſt heſitation; and behaved to the Portugueſe with the familiarity of old friends. This conduct deſerved a reciprocal return: the admiral treated them with bells and other toys moſt acceptable to their taſte. No one on board underſtood their language, ſo ſigns were the only interchange of thoughts they could enjoy.

On the third day, two perſons of rank arrived in their boats, on purpoſe to viſit the admiral. They wore aprons larger than the reſt of their countrymen; and one had his head covered with a handkerchief wrought with ſilk, the other with a green ſatin cap. De Gama entertained them courteouſly, and made them preſents of apparel, and other articles, on which they ſeemed to ſet little value. It appeared, from ſigns, that they were of a diſtant country, and that large ſhips were no novelty to them. They then produced ſome ca-

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co for ſale; at ſight of which the admiral was enetrated with joy, and all on board were ele-ated with the hopes of ſoon reaching the trea-ures of the Eaſt. This river, therefore, obtain-d the appellation of the River of Good Signs, nd here he erected a pillar, carved with a cru-ifix and the Portugueſe arms.

They left this river on the 24th of January, nd, after a voyage of more than a month, deſcried our iſlands, from one of which ſeveral boats ad-anced, and made ſigns for the ſhips to wait their oming up. No ſooner had the admiral dropped nchor, than the boats approached, full of peo-le of a good ſtature, with a dark complexion; nd clothed in various coloured calico. They ſed the Arabian tongue; and on being enter-ained on board by De Gama, they ſeemed to njoy themſelves, and were as communicative as ould be wiſhed. They informed him, that the ame of their iſland was Moſambique, and was ubject to the king of Quiloa; and that it con-ained a town peopled with merchants who trad-d to India, and imported its valued productions. The ſoil in the neighbourhood of Moſambique as marſhy, and therefore unwholeſome. The ouſes were built of clay, and thatched with raw; but a great number of ſhips reſorting ither, rendered the town commercial and po-ulous. The trade was chiefly in the hands of he Arabian merchants, who, in their naval ar-itecture, made uſe of wooden pegs inſtead of ails, and mats made of palm-tree leaves inſtead f ſails. They knew the uſe of the compaſs, had ome aſtronomical inſtruments, and were furniſh-d with ſea-charts of tolerable accuracy.

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The ſheik, with his attendants, taking the Portugueſe for Moors or Turks, viſited the firſt ſhip that entered the harbour; but finding none that could converſe with them, they ſoon returned. However, they were not wanting in hoſpitality. The ſheik requeſted leave to come on board, and De Gama, to prepare for his arrival, ordered the ſick men to be removed, and his own ſhip to be manned with the flower of the crews. The chief appeared richly dreſſed: he had previouſly ſhewn a contempt for hawk's bells, trinkets, and toys, and expreſſed his wonder that the admiral did not ſend him ſcarlet. He had a military guard, with drums and ivory trumpets. De Gama received him with marked reſpect; and conducted him to the cabin, while his retinue remained in the boats. An apology was made for not ſending a preſent of ſcarlet cloth, becauſe none had been brought. The ſheik and his company made themſelves welcome on board; and taking the ſtrangers for Turks, deſired to ſee their bows, and their books of the law. The admiral informed him, that they came from the weſt, and bolonged to a country bordering on Turkey; that they had no books of their law with them; but orders were immediately given to produce different kinds of armour, and to ſhew its uſe, which greatly excited the ſheik's admiration. De Gama requeſted his viſitor would ſupply him with two pilots; and they being readily provided, engaged to perform the voyage for a reward of thirty crowns each and a coat.

This friendly intercourſe, however, was but of ſhort duration. The chief no ſooner diſcovered that the ſtrangers were Chriſtians, than his conduct

conduct began to betray ſymptoms of enmity; and he ſeemed to be plotting for the deſtruction of De Gama and his fleet. However, the admiral watered his ſhips by force, keeping the Moors at a diſtance for fear of the ordnance. The tumult, however, was not allayed; and the admiral, to revenge the inſults he had received, battered down the town with his great guns, and drove the inhabitants into the country. He took a few priſoners, and, among the reſt, a pilot.

Plainly perceiving that a longer ſtay here would be attended with danger, De Gama ſteered to another iſland at a ſhort diſtance, and from thence to Quiloa; but ſtreſs of weather obliging him to return, an Arabian pilot he had brought out with him, wiſhed to be carried to Melinda, on his way to Mecca; and as he was now furniſhed with another pilot, to this aſſent was given. The weather proving favourable, they again put to ſea and made for Mombaſſa, a city which the pilots obſerved was chiefly inhabited by Chriſtians. Here they arrived on the 27th of April; but as the ſhips lay without the bar, a bark approached them in the night with one hundred armed men in the Turkiſh dreſs, and were proceeding to board them, had not the admiral inſiſted on no more than four being admitted. Thoſe who came forward, appeared to be above the common rank; but, with a wiſe precaution, they were deſired to lay aſide their arms before they were taken on board. De Gama, however, entertained them in a handſome manner; on which they acquainted him, that the king hearing of their arrival, had ſent his compliments of congratulation, and offered to load the ſhips with ſpices; obſerving, at the ſame time, that there

there were many Chriſtians on the iſland, which ſo far coincided with the report of the pilots. The next day, the king ſent a preſent of ſome fruit to the admiral. The deputies profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians; and adviſed him to approach the city and caſt anchor in the harbour, where the king could with more facility give proofs of his deſire to oblige him.

De Gama, from ſo many favourable indications, concluding they were ſincere, expreſſed his gratitude, and promiſed to comply with his majeſty's requeſt. To pave the way to a favourable reception, as well as to obtain ſome general information, he ſent two of his exiles with preſents to the king. Theſe were treated with much hoſpitality, and were indulged with a view of the city. They obſerved many priſoners in irons, were introduced to two Chriſtian merchants; and diſmiſſed by his majeſty with ſamples of corn and ſpices, and with orders to communicate to the admiral, that he might there be ſupplied with gold, ſilver, and other valuable commodities at a leſs rate than elſewhere.

An offer ſo flattering, and apparenty ſo diſintereſted, could not be refuſed; and the next morning, the admiral prepared to enter the harbour; but the ſhip ſtriking on a ſhoal, he again caſt anchor; when the pilots inſtantly jumped into the ſea, and were taken up by the natives.

This created ſome ſuſpicion of the king's intentions. Indeed, his extreme civility from the firſt favoured ſtrongly of diſſimulation; and muſt have put De Gama on his guard. It afterwards appeared, that having heard of the tranſactions at Moſambique, this perfidious prince meditated to deſtroy the Portugueſe, while the ſhips lay in the

he harbour; but the accident we have mention-
d fruſtrated that ſcheme. He, however, ſoon
oncerted another, with a low cunning, which
roved he was fearful of uſing open force. Dur-
ng night, the watch of the flag-ſhip perceived
he cable ſhaking, and on looking round, ſaw
veral men ſwimming about, and cutting it with
eir ſwords, to ſet the ſhip adrift. Others had
t among the tackle of another ſhip: but on
ing diſcovered, they plunged into the ſea, and
am to ſome boats which were ready to receive
em.

It was now impoſſible to doubt of the treachery
this people, and vain to hope for any advan-
ges to be derived from ſtaying longer among
em; the admiral, therefore, reſolved to proceed
Melinda, without delay. Having got clear
the Bay of Mombaſſa, he ſoon after fell in
h two ſambucos, or pinnaces, one of which he
tured. She had ſeventeen men on board,
a conſiderable quantity of gold and ſilver.
e day he reached Melinda, which is only
nteen leagues diſtance from Mombaſſa, and
ated in 3 deg. ſouth latitude.

The city of Melinda ſtands on the moſt level
of a coaſt generally rocky, and is encompaſſ-
with palms, and various fruit trees. It was
onſiderable extent: the ſtreets were ſpacious,
the houſes built of ſtone, ſeveral ſtories high,
terraces on the top. The natives appeared
thy, ſtrong, and well proportioned. They
turbans of ſilk and gold; and, from the
downwards, were clothed with ſilk and
n ſtuffs; ſome wore ſhort cloaks of calico.
celebrated archers, they ſeldom appeared
out their bows and arrows.

The admiral felt a high degree of ſatisfaction at the ſight of ſuch a city, bearing ſome reſemblance to thoſe in his native land; and came to an anchor within a league of it. Nobody, however, came on board; and it is probable, that the capture of the pinnace made them conſidered as pirates. An Arabian priſoner, who had engaged to procure pilots, was therefore ſet on ſhore; and being conducted to the king, informed his majeſty, that the admiral was deſirous of entering into an alliance with him. The king returned a very ſatisfactory anſwer, accompanied with a preſent of three ſheep, a quantity of oranges and ſugar-canes. A hat, three braſs baſons, ſome ſmall bells, and two ſcarfs were ſent for his majeſty's acceptance.

Next day, De Gama approached nearer the city, and anchored cloſe by the veſſels of ſome Indian Chriſtians, where the king ſent a deputation to inform him, that he meant to viſit him in perſon on the morrow. In the meanwhile the crews of the Indian ſhips came on board with the king's permiſſion. They were perſonable people of a brown complexion. Their religious rites appeared to have been mixed with many Pagan ſuperſtitions. When the Portugueſe preſented a picture of the Virgin Mary and ſome of the apoſtles, the Indian Chriſtians not only fell down and worſhipped it; but daily repaired with offerings of pepper and other things which they ridiculouſly laid before the repreſentation of the virgin. The King of Melinda came according to his appointment, in a large boat with many attendants. He was dreſſed in a gown of crimſon damaſk lined with green ſatin, and wore a rich ſilk turban. He was ſeated in an elegant chair, curi-

inlaid with wire, on a ſilk cuſhion, with another by him, on which was placed a hat of crimſon ſatin. Near him ſtood an old man, who held a rich ſword with a ſilver ſcabbard. His retinue were alſo richly dreſſed; and a band of muſicians performed on ſackbuts and flutes. The latter were eight ſpans long, and very neatly executed.

De Gama met the king in his boat adorned with flags, attended by his principal officers. After mutual ſalutations, at the king's requeſt he ſtepped into his boat. His majeſty viewed him and his men with minute attention, interrogated him in relation to the country he came from, the name of his ſovereign, and the motives that induced him to take ſuch a diſtant voyage. Theſe queſtions being ſatisfactorily anſwered, the king promiſed to furniſh him with a pilot to Calicut, and invited him to participate in the amuſements of the place. The admiral excuſed himſelf for the preſent, but promiſed to take that pleaſure in his return; and to give the king a proof of his friendly intentions, made him a preſent of all the priſoners he had lately taken.

The prince, highly delighted with this acquiſition, was afterwards rowed up to the ſhips, which he beheld with ſurprize. The firing of the ordnance gratified and aſtoniſhed him prodigiouſly. He complimented the admiral by obſerving, that he never ſaw men who pleaſed him ſo much as the Portugueſe; and expreſſed his wiſh that he had ſome of them to aſſiſt in his wars.

It was on the 22d of April, that De Gama left Melinda, and inſtead of tracking the coaſt as he had hitherto done, reſolved to truſt himſelf to

the ocean. The weather was ſo propitious to his wiſhes, that he croſſed a ſea of ſeven hundred leagues in twenty three days; and on the 17th of May, the coaſt of India opened to his view. This was the grand object of his purſuits, and it may be better imagined than expreſſed, what ſatisfaction and ſelf felicitation muſt fill every breaſt, when the hills of Calicut were pointed out by the pilot. Tranſported with joy, the admiral made a grand entertainment for the whole crew, and ſoon after came to an anchor in an open road, about two leagues below Calicut.

Some fiſhermen in their boats, in a ſhort time, rowed up to the fleet, being ſtruck with admiration of the ſhips. They were of a brown complexion, and had only a kind of apron hanging down before. De Gama gave theſe people a courteous reception, after which they piloted him nearer to Calicut, where he caſt anchor, and immediately ſent one of his convicts on ſhore to make the uſual enquiries and obſervations. The natives immediately thronged about the ſtranger; aſked many queſtions of the fiſhermen who conducted him; and particularly noticed his dreſs, ſo unlike that to which they had been accuſtomed.

Suppoſing, however, that they might be able to ſatisfy their curioſity the better, they carried him to the houſe of two Moors, one of whom, named Bontaibo, could ſpeak Spaniſh, and knowing him to be a Portugueſe, whoſe language bears a ſtrong affinity to that of Spain, aſked him what brought him thither. This queſtion in an unexpected tongue, having been anſwered, the Moor told him that he had been acquainted with ſome Portugueſe at Tunis, from whence he came; but he

e could not conceive how any ſhips from that ation could come hither.

Bontaibo returned with the man, and waited n the admiral. So much were he and his crew urpriſed and pleaſed at meeting with a perſon at uch a diſtance from home, with whom they ould converſe, that the tear of joy ſtarted in heir eyes. De Gama embraced Bontaibo with he affection of a friend; ſat down by him, nd, graſping his hand, aſked him if he was a Chriſtian, and how he came to Calicut? Bontaibo anſwered in the affirmative, that he was indeed a Chriſtian, and had been chief contractor or the warlike ſtores which King Ferdinand had urchaſed at Tunis; and that he had arrived in ndia by way of Cairo. He concluded by oberving, that he had on all occaſions manifeſted is friendſhip for the Portugueſe; and that he ould now promote their intereſt to the utmoſt f his power. The admiral cordially thanked im, and promiſed him a noble reward for whatver ſervices he ſhould render him. On making nquiries relative to the ſovereign of Calicut, the Moor replied, that he was a prince of a benignnt diſpoſition, and that he did not doubt he ould gladly receive the admiral as an ambaſſaor from a foreign king; particularly, if he came o eſtabliſh a trade with the country, the royal reenues ariſing chiefly from the duties on goods.

The zamorin, as he was called, receiving intelgence that the admiral had letters for him from he King of Portugal, ſent to bid him welcome; nd at the ſame time diſpatched a pilot to conuct him to Padarane, where there was a convenient harbour for ſhipping. De Gama was inited to proceed from thence by land to Calicut,

where he would be ready to receive him. Fear
ful of a repetition of the ſame perfidy he had ex
perienced before, the commander ſecured hi
ſhips with cautious circumſpection. Here he re
ceived an order from the cutival, or miniſter fo
foreign affairs, to land wherever he pleaſed. De
Gama on this calling a council of his officers, in
formed them, that he intended to go and ſettle
treaty of commerce and perpetual amity with th
zamorin. To this his brother alleged, tha
though this prince and the natives, as they ima
gined, were Chriſtians, yet there were many Arab
among them, who were their mortal enemies
and would be highly exaſperated againſt them
for attempting to interfere in their trade; an
therefore, as the ſucceſs of the voyage depende
on his preſervation, it would be more adviſeabl
to ſend a deputy in his room; a ſentiment whic
was unanimouſly approved of by the reſt. Bu
the admiral declared, that he was reſolved to ru
every riſk; obſerving, that it was for his majeſ
ty's intereſt to protect and encourage traders; an
as the inhabitants were chiefly Chriſtians, he ha
nothing to fear. But in caſe any accident ſhoul
happen to him, they muſt give themſelves n
concern about his ſafety, but ſail directly to Por
tugal, with the important news of the diſcover
they had made.

The reſolution of the admiral prevailing, h
next day ſet out in his boat, furniſhed with ord
nance, attended by twelve of his officers, wit
flags diſplayed and trumpets ſounding. At h
landing, he was courteouſly received by th
cutival; and, two litters being provided for the
they were carried on men's ſhoulders, while th
reſt proceeded on foot. They halted at a pla

alled Capocats, to dine, where they were enter-
ained with rice and fruits. Then entering ſome
oats, they were conveyed down the river.

De Gama and his ſuit were afterwards con-
ucted to a large Indian temple, built of free-
one, and covered with tiles, on the walls of
hich were many painted images, ſome with
rge projecting teeth and others with four arms,
nd ſuch hideous faces, that the Portugueſe be-
an to doubt whether they were in a Chriſtian
ountry or not. In the centre of this was a ſmall
ound chapel, with a tower and a lattice door, to
hich, ſtone ſteps on the outſide conducted. In
he wall oppoſite to this entrance ſtood an image,
hich, from the darkneſs of the place, could not
e diſtinctly viewed; and admittance was denied
o all, ſave the prieſt, who approaching and point-
ng to the figure, thrice called aloud, Maria!

When the cutival and his train came before
he chapel, they fell flat on the ground, with their
ands before them, three times; and then pray-
d ſtanding. De Gama and his attendants, ſup-
oſing this to be an image of the Virgin, fell
own on their knees, and made their ſupplica-
ions: but one of the Portugueſe having ſome
oubt, ſaid, as he knelt, "If this be the devil, I
worſhip God." Which produced an involun-
ary ſmile from his companions.

They now advanced in proceſſion to the pa-
ace, followed by an immenſe concourſe of peo-
le; and at their entrance into the city, the preſs
as ſo great, that they were almoſt ſtifled. This
bliged the cutival to retire with them into one
f the houſes, where his brother, a perſon of
reat diſtinction, met him with ſeveral naires,
ho were ſent by the zamorin to conduct the

admiral

admiral to court. At leaſt three thouſand men in arms attended the proceſſion, which marked attention ſo highly flattered De Gama, that he turned to one of his officers, and ſaid "Little do "they think in Portugal what honour is paid us "here."

It was drawing towards the cloſe of day before they reached the imperial palace, which was ſpacious, and made a handſome appearance. At the palace gate they were received by ſeveral of the grandees, who conducted them through five large courts, furniſhed with as many gates, and two porters ſtationed at each. On approaching the chamber of audience, they were met by the king's chief bramin, a diminutive old man, who embraced the admiral, and conducted them all in. So eager were the populace to catch a glimpſe of their prince, that they preſſed in with the Portugueſe, and ſome lives were loſt. Two of the Europeans alſo narrowly eſcaped being ſqueezed to death.

The hall into which they were introduced preſented an amphitheatre of ſeats; the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and the walls hung with ſilk tapeſtry interwoven with gold. The zamorin lay reclined on a ſofa, covered with white ſilk, interlaced with gold, with a rich canopy over his head. He was of a brown complexion, a full habit, and appeared advanced in years. He had on a ſhort coat of fine calico, adorned with branches and roſes of beaten gold. It was buttoned with large pearls, and the button-holes were overlaid with gold. About his waiſt was a calico ſaſh which hung down to his knees. His head was covered with a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears were jewels of the ſame kind;

and

nd both his toes and his fingers ſparkled with iamond rings. His arms and legs were naked, nd adorned with bracelets of gold. In ſhort, is dreſs was moſt ſplendid, and his whole air oble and majeſtic.

As the admiral approached the preſence of the amorin, according to the cuſtom of the coun-y, he made three obeiſances with his hands ove his head. His majeſty regarded him with omplacency; but returned the ſalute by an al-moſt imperceptible motion of the head. Then aking ſigns for him to advance, he cauſed him be ſeated near him; and the reſt of the reti-ue entering, and paying the ſame compliment, ere ſeated oppoſite to him; and were immedi-ely furniſhed with water to cool their hands, e weather being very hot, though the winter aſon. The emperor then ordered a collation of gs and jakas to be introduced, and on their lling for water to drink, a gold cup with a out was brought them. At the ſame time they ere given to underſtand, that the natives think impolite to touch the veſſel with their lips, d in compliance with the etiquette, they held at ſome diſtance above their mouths; but not ing accuſtomed to that mode of receiving li-or, it either made them cough or ſprinkled ir clothes, which ſeemed to be matter of en-tainment for the whole court.

This repaſt diſpatched, the emperor ordered Gama, by his interpreter, to lay his buſineſs fore the officers who were aſſembled, that they ght communicate it to him. But the admiral deſtly intimated, that he could not recede from practice of the Chriſtian princes of Europe, ich was to give an audience to the ambaſſa-

dors

dors themſelves, in the preſence of a few of their counſellors. The zamorin ſaid, that he approved of this cuſtom; and ordering the admiral to be conducted into another apartment, reſembling the firſt, followed only by his interpreter, his chief bramin, his betel ſerver, and the comptroller of the houſehold. Being ſeated on a ſofa, he interrogated the admiral reſpecting the country he came from, and the objects he had in view. To this he replied, that he was ambaſſador from the King of Portugal, the moſt potent and opulent monarch of the weſt; who having heard that there were Chriſtian kings in the Indies, of whom the King of Calicut was the chief, he had thought fit to ſend an ambaſſador to ſettle a trade and amity with him: that the predeceſſors of the king, his maſter, had for the ſpace of threeſcore years been attempting to diſcover a paſſage to India by ſea; but that none of his captains had been able to accompliſh this great deſign till now. In conformation of the truth of what he advanced, he promiſed to produce the letters of his ſovereign at his next audience; and obſerved, that he was commiſſioned to inform his majeſty, that the king his maſter was his friend and brother, and hoped, if his highneſs accepted of the profſered friendſhip, he would ſend an ambaſſador to Portugal to ſtrengthen it. The zamorin replied that nothing could be more agreeable to him than ſuch an alliance. He then made ſome general enquiries reſpecting the power of his Portugueſe Majeſty; the diſtance between Calicut and Portugal, and how long he had been on his voyage.

It being now late, and the admiral chuſing to lodge in a houſe apart from the natives, ordered his Indian factor to accompany him, and provi-

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Richter del. et sc.

de Gama relating the purport of
is voyage to the Zamorin. pa. 214.

BRITISH
16 NO 98
MUSEUM

hat he ſhould have occaſion for. He was alſo at-ended by the cutival and his officers; but a heavy hower falling, they were obliged to ſhelter them-elves at the factor's, who offered to furniſh De Gama with a horſe; but, as he had no ſaddle, he referred walking on foot to his lodgings.

At this moment, every thing ſeemed to pre-ent the faireſt proſpect of honour and advantage o the Portugueſe; but while the admiral was ndulging this pleaſant dream, he was on the ery brink of ſeeing the fruits of his expectations aviſhed from him. Formidable rivals ſtarted up o oppoſe his views. The religion of Mahomet ad been introduced by the Tartars, and was as redominant there as Paganiſm. The hatred hat the Muſſelmen bore to the Chriſtians, ani-nated them to revenge; and the Arabs, from ſe-veral diſtant regions, carrying on a very lucrative ommerce in the countries of Mogul and Mala-bar, the fear of being ſupplanted made them con-ſpire the deſtruction of their new opponents.

The admiral being now ſecured, the cutival hrough the inſtigation of the Arabs, made uſe of various artifices to get poſſeſſion of the ſhips likewiſe: in this, however, the vigilance of De Gama diſappointed them; and, after much diffi-culty, once more got on board.

Though the principal in the expedition did not venture to truſt himſelf again on ſhore, he gave his men liberty by turns to viſit the city, where they were kindly received by the Indians, and merchandized without reſtraint. The na-tives, on the other hand, daily reſorted to the ſhips in boats, and were well entertained by the admiral.

Matters went on in this train till the 10th of Auguſt,

Auguſt, when the ſeaſon for returning being arrived, De Gama ſent Diaz, his factor, to the emperor with a preſent of ſcarfs, ſilk, coral, and other articles, ordering him to acquaint his majeſty with his intended departure; and to requeſt, in caſe he ſhould be inclined to ſend an ambaſſador to Portugal, that he might be diſpatched. He alſo informed him, that it was his intention to leave his factor and ſecretary at Calicut with the goods he had there, till the arrival of another fleet from the weſt; and as a confirmation of his having been in India, begged the zamorin would ſend the king, his maſter, a bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of ſpices, which ſhould be paid for out of the firſt goods diſpoſed of in the country.

After waiting four days, the factor was admitted to the preſence of the prince, who, with a ſevere look, aſked him what he wanted. Diaz with much trepidation delivered his meſſage, and was about to offer the preſent, when the zamorin refuſed to ſee it, and ordered it to be delivered to his factor; and then bid him tell the admiral, that he was at liberty to depart, if he wiſhed; but that he muſt firſt, according to the cuſtom of the port, pay him ſix hundred ſharafins. Diaz, however, had no ſooner returned to the factory than he was confined there; and proclamation was made through the city, forbidding any one to go on board the fleet, on pain of death. However, Bontaibo had the courage to diſobey this mandate, and adviſed the admiral to be on his guard, informing him, that the Arabs had repreſented them to the zamorin as pirates, and that they came with no other deſign but to carry off, by force, the merchandize of the place, and to pry into

to the ſtrength of the nation. Two days after, me boys came on board offering precious ſtones r ſale; but though the admiral regarded them ſpies, he diſſembled his knowledge of what d paſſed, and ſuffered them to depart, in hopes alluring others of more conſequence on board. his had the deſired effect, for the zamorin con-ding from hence, that the admiral was igno-nt of the detention of his factor and ſecretary, nt perſons on board to amuſe him, till he could out a fleet, or the ſhips of Mecca ſhould arrive, capture him. At length ſix of the principal alabars, with fifteen attendants, coming on ard, he ordered them to be ſeized, and ſent ck two of the boatmen with a letter in the alabar tongue, demanding his factor and ſecre-ry in exchange. But not arriving ſo ſoon as s expected, the admiral ſet ſail, and came to an chor four leagues below Calicut, where having ited for three days, he put to ſea almoſt out ſight of land, when a boat came off to inform m, that his people were in the zamorin's pa-e, and would be with him next day. De Ga-a firmly let them know, that they muſt inſtant-bring his men or letters from them; and that they returned without either the one or the her, he would ſink them; and if they did not turn at all, he would cut off the heads of thoſe had ſeized. As ſoon as the boat was depart-with this meſſage, he ſteered towards the ore, and anchored near Calicut.

Next day ſeven boats came up to the flag ſhip, one of which was Diaz and the ſecretary, hom the natives delivered up, and then retired ſome diſtance for the admiral's anſwer. They ewiſe brought a letter for the King of Portugal

written on a palm-tree leaf, and ſigned by the zamorin. It was couched in the ſubſequent laconic terms. "Vaſco de Gama, a gentleman of "thy houſe, came to my country; of whoſe coming "I am glad. In my country there is plenty of cin-"namon, cloves, pepper, and precious ſtones. The "things which I am deſirous of receiving from "thy country, are gold, ſilver, ſcarlet, and co-"ral."

The admiral made no other reply, but that he had ſent back the naires, and would detain the reſt till his merchandiſe on ſhore was reſtored. The next day Bontaibo came on board, and told the admiral, that the cutival, by the king's order, had ſeized his effects, on pretence that he was a Chriſtian, and had been ſent over land as a ſpy, by the King of Portugal. He added, that he was aware all this was done at the inſtigation of the Arabs; and not doubting but, as they had taken his goods, they would next injure his perſon, he had fled for protection. De Gama immediately ordered him to be well accommodated on board; and promiſed that on his arrival at Portugal, he ſhould meet with ample recompenſe for his loſſes. Afterwards three almadias arrived with ſcarfs laid over the benches, and pretended that they had brought all the goods, and therefore demanded that the priſoners ſhould be liberated. The admiral perceiving that this was no more than an artifice, told them he ſhould carry the Malabars to Portugal as a confirmation of his diſcovery; and would ſoon return again to Calicut, when the zamorin would be ſatisfied whether the Chriſtians were pirates or not, as the Arabs had given out.

It may be proper to remark, that Calicut, the firſt ſcene of Portugueſe adventure in the Eaſt, ſtands

tands in the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, on n open ſhore, where there is no ſhelter for Eu- opean veſſels; but thoſe of the country being ormed of planks, bound together with ropes, and at-bottomed, are eaſily drawn on ſhore. Though he city, at that time, was large, the houſes were nſtructed of hurdles, except the imperial pa- ces and temples, which were built of ſtone and me; for, by the exiſting laws, no other ſtruc- res were allowed of thoſe materials. This city as then the grand emporium of India for all nds of ſpices, drugs, precious ſtones, calicoes, ld, ſilver, and other rich commodities. The ople were generally Pagans, and paid an im- icit obedience to their bramins, or prieſts, as ll in ſecular as in ſacred affairs.

The admiral being becalmed, ſoon after he ſet il, at about a league's diſtance from Calicut, the morin ſent ſixty tonies filled with ſoldiers to ize the ſhips. Providentially a freſh gale inging up, the fleet eſcaped; but was purſued the Malabars for an hour and upwards. It s indeed fortunate for the Portugueſe, that y arrived here in the beginning of winter, en the emperor's fleet, which was very nume- us, was laid up. Had it been equipped, they ift have fallen an eaſy prey.

Notwithſtanding this attempt, the admiral diſ- ffed one of the captives, at the firſt port he ched, at with a letter to his ſovereign, in which recapitulated the ſnares which had been laid him by the Arabians, apologized for his car- ng away the natives, and profeſſed the utmoſt ard for his majeſty. He promiſed to exert nſelf to eſtabliſh ſuch a league between him the King of Portugal, as would redound to

their mutual intereſt; and concluded with aſſuring him, that the priſoners he had taken with him, ſhould be well treated, and ſent back with the next Portugueſe fleet to their native land.

Steering along the coaſt, De Gama fell in with ſeveral ſmall iſlands, from one of which pinnaces came off with fiſh and other proviſions. The Portugueſe received theſe people kindly, and having ſet up a croſs on the ſhore, named the place Santa Maria. About a week after, they caſt anchor near ſix ſmall iſlands, where he was ſupplied with fowls, gourds, and milk. At the ſame time the natives informed him, that the country abounded with cinnamon, which was confirmed by the report of ſome Portugueſe ſet on ſhore for the purpoſe, who reported that they ſaw entire woods of cinnamon.

From hence he reached the Anchediva iſlands, five in number, where the admiral reſolved to careen his ſhips. While thus employed, two brigantines appeared, with drums beating and trumpets ſounding, and five more were diſcovered near the ſhore. The Malabars ſaid they were pirates, who, under the colour of friendſhip, plundered all the veſſels that fell in their way. Being thus appriſed of his danger, the admiral gave orders to fire on them as ſoon as they came within reach of his guns. This unexpected reception made them retreat with all poſſible expedition.

Among the immenſe multitudes that crowded to ſee the ſhips, came a perſon apparently about forty years of age, and of a different country. Immediately as he landed, he ran up to the admiral, and then to the other captains, embracing them with the utmoſt familiarity; and having

made

made his compliments in the Italian language, told him he was a Chriſtian, and a native of Italy; that having been taken by pirates in his youth, while accompanying his parents in a voyage to Greece, had run through a variety of misfortunes; and had hitherto been deprived of all hopes of viſiting his native land. He informed the admiral, that he had been forced to enter into the ſervice of the Mahometan prince, named Sabay, the ſovereign of an iſland at twelve leagues diſtance, named Goa; that he had been obliged to comply with the external forms of the religion of Mahomet; but that he was ſtill a Chriſtian in his heart. He added, that he was prime miniſter and confidant of his ſovereign; and hearing that there were certain ſtrange ſhips at Calicut, whoſe crews were clothed from head to foot, and ſpoke a language unknown in the Indies, he judged them to be Chriſtians, and entreated Sabay to permit him to viſit them; which he had not only granted, but ordered him to acquaint them, that whatever his kingdom produced was at their ſervice. He concluded with deſiring, that they would favour him with a cheeſe to ſend to a companion of his on ſhore, as a pledge of the friendly reception he had met with.

Though this gave the admiral juſt grounds for ſuſpicion, he nevertheleſs ordered him a cheeſe and two loaves; which the ſtranger accordingly ſent on ſhore, and continued his converſation with De Gama, with an inquiſitive minuteneſs, which ſtill rendered him the more ſuſpected. The admiral's brother, taking an opportunity, enquired of ſome of the natives who this ſingular perſon was; and received for anſwer, that he was a

pirate, and had viſited other ſhips that had been on the coaſt. De Gama being apprized of this, ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, in order to obtain a confeſſion of his ſituation and intentions. This puniſhment having no effect, he inhumanly cauſed him to be hoiſted up by a pully, in a moſt indecent and excruciating form. After he had been lifted up in this manner the fourth time, he confeſſed, that he was a Poliſh Jew; and that Sabay meditating an attack on the Portugueſe ſhips, had ſent him to aſcertain their ſtrength and mode of fighting. This having ſome veriſimilitude, the admiral then ſent him under the hatches, and had him cured of the injury he had received; telling him, for his conſolation, that he did not deſign to make a ſlave of him, but would carry him to Portugal, to furniſh the king with what information had fallen under his notice in the country. Being afterwards uſed with kindneſs, he was baptized under the name of Jaſper de Gama, and rendered eſſential ſervices to the Portugueſe.

It was on the 5th of October, that De Gama left this coaſt, and directed his courſe for Melinda. In this long paſſage he experienced an alternation of ſtorms, calms, and contrary winds and his men became ſo tainted with the ſcurvy that peſt of mariners on diſtant voyages, that no more than ſixteen men in each ſhip were fit for ſervice. To prevent their overſhooting Melinda they dropped anchor every night. When they had arrived within ten leagues of that city, eight large boats, filled with ſoldiers, appeared ſteering towards the ſhips; but, on receiving the firſt fire they tacked about and fled.

The admiral experienced the ſame friendly reception at Melinda as he had done in his paſſage out. Having ſtaid five days to take in refreſhments, and received on board an ambaſſador from the king to his Portugueſe Majeſty, he burned one of his ſhips, the St. Raphael, and diſtributed the men among the other two. Indeed, with ſuch a reduced number of hands, it would have been impoſſible to navigate them all.

De Gama reached Zanzibar, a pretty large iſland in 6 deg. ſouth latitude, on the 27th of February. The prince, though a Mahometan, courteouſly entertained the Portugueſe; and furniſhed them with what ſupplies his territories produced. Nothing happened worthy of remark till the 20th of April, when they again doubled the Cape of Good Hope, that grand barrier which had ſo long been regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of navigation. They now directed their courſe to the iſland of St. Jago; but the two ſhips being ſeparated by a violent ſtorm, the commander of the Berrio, anxious to carry the earlieſt intelligence of the diſcoveries to the king, ſailed directly for Liſbon, and on the 10th of July put into Cuſcais. The admiral having touched at St. Jago, left his ſhip to be refitted, and ſailing from thence in a hired caraval, arrived ſafe at Belem, in September 1499, after a long voyage of two years and two months, with the loſs of more than half his men.

On his landing, every mark of honour was paid him, every demonſtration of joy attended his diſcoveries. The king ſent ſeveral gentlemen to conduct him to court; and immenſe crowds, through which he paſſed, joined in the tribute of congratulation. He was honoured with the title

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of Don; he was permitted to quarter the royal arms, and had an annual penſion of three thouſand ducats aſſigned him. The other captains received likewiſe honours and rewards; and the king, ſo liberal to others, made a moſt extravagant appropriation to himſelf. In addition to his former deſcription, he aſſumed the lofty titles of Lord of the Conqueſt and Navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, and the Indies. Public thankſgivings were offered up throughout Portugal for the ſucceſs of this diſcovery; and feaſts and entertainments were generally celebrated. Even thoſe who had long oppoſed the deſign as impracticable, now grew aſhamed of their oppoſition; and became zealous in the cauſe they had once contemned.

If we compare the diſcoveries of Columbus and De Gama, the palm of navigation muſt be allowed to the former. Columbus diſcovered a new world by a path never attempted, and which his own original mind alone ſuggeſted: De Gama only proſecuted and completed the diſcoveries of others; he knew there was a country to which he was bound, though the road had never been traced; and he met with few novelties which he might not reaſonably expect to find.—To Columbus, every thing was new. If we compare their reſpective diſcoveries in their importance and conſequences, the general deciſion of the judgment will probably be in favour of that of Columbus. The eaſt is only the hot bed of luxury, the enervating ſoil where man dwindles into the ſlave, or arrogates to himſelf the power of a tyrant. America preſents a field in its great variety of climate, where the human powers may one day perhaps expand beyond their

preſent

preſent limits, and the ingenuity of man, ſharpened by the neceſſity of labour and induſtry, may explore new paths of ſcience, and open new avenues to happineſs and enjoyment. From this favourable repreſentation, however, we muſt for ever exclude the greateſt part of the American Iſlands, or, as they are called, the Weſt Indies. Similar cauſes will always produce ſimilar effects. The ſame climate and ſome of the ſame productions diſtinguiſh both the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; but if we eſtimate the happineſs and the comforts of man, for which alone countries were made, we ſhall here find the Eaſt preferable to the Weſt. While the ſlave-trade, that approbrium of humanity, that diſgrace to religion, continues, we are almoſt tempted to wiſh that the ſcene of ſuch enormous wickedneſs had never exiſted, or had never been diſcovered.

VOYAGE

VOYAGE OF

EDRO ALVAREZ DE CABRAL,

TO THE

EAST INDIES.

OF the gentleman who conducted this expedition, little ſeems to be known. It can, however, be doubted, but he muſt have been man of rank, and highly diſtinguiſhed in his feſſion. To him, as we ſhall ſee in the ſel, Portugal is indebted for the diſcovery of ſil, ſo that De Cabral is entitled to rank at t with an Americus Veſputius or a Cabot.

On the arrival of De Gama from his voyage, ich laid open the Indies, expectation was hly raiſed, and it was immediately reſolved to ſecute the advantages, juſt diſcloſed to view, h aſſiduity and perſeverance. For this pur-, thirteen veſſels of different ſizes were fitted and the command was given to Pedro Alva- de Cabral. His force conſiſted of one thou- two hundred men; excluſive of eight Fran- an friars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain or. This part of the complement may excite mile; for, though theſe religious might be to preach, how could they make themſelves erſtood? Unleſs they had poſſeſſed the gift ongues, their labours in this ſtage of the in-

tercourſe

tercourſe between Europe and the eaſt, muſt have been either nugatory or ridiculous. However, like the diſciples of Mahomet, they had orders to convert by argument or by the ſword.

Cabral, at his departure, received from the king the flag of the croſs, and was inſtructed that, in caſe the Zamorin of Calicut voluntarily conſented to the ſettling of a factory, he was privately to be influenced againſt ſuffering the Arabians to participate in the trade; and in that condition it was to be repreſented, that Portugal by its imports, would ſupply all his demands on the moſt moderate terms; and, by its exports, take off the manufactures of his country to advantage. This was the grand outline of inſtruction for the conduct of the commodore.

On the 9th of March 1500, the fleet ſet ſail, and having paſſed the iſland of St. Jago, they met with a violent ſtorm which diſperſed the ſhips, and obliged one of them to put back to Liſbon. Having collected his ſquadron again with the above exception, he proceeded on his voyage, and ſteered to the ſouth-weſt, to keep clear of the coaſt of Guinea. Sailing in this courſe, on the 24th of April, one of the ſailors diſcovered land, to the inexpreſſible joy and ſurprize of the admiral. The pilots could not imagine that it was a continent; but took it for a large iſland. They however, cruiſed along the coaſt for a whole day, and then ventured on ſhore, where they found an infinite number of people entirely naked; and neither reſembling the negroes nor the Eaſt Indians. The party that had landed made a report, that there was ſafe anchorage in the vicinity, on which the fleet approached to the land.

The natives taking alarm at this unuſual appearance, retired to the hills; and ſeemed to watch the motions of the Portugueſe. Juſt as they were going to launch their boats, in order to attempt ſome intercourſe with them, a ſudden ſtorm drove the ſhips from their anchors, and carried them down the coaſt to a harbour which they called Puerto Seguro, or Safe Harbour. Here two Indians were ſecured, and being clothed by De Cabral's order, were preſented with ſmall mirrors, braſs rings, and bells, and ſent on ſhore. On this, a great concourſe of the inhabitants came down to the ſhore ſinging, dancing, ſounding horns, and leaping in all the exultation of joy.

Theſe favourable appearances prompted the admiral to land: and, it being Eaſter-day, an altar was erected under a tree, where the Portugueſe ſang maſs. The Indians peaceably approached them, knelt with the Portugueſe, imitated all their geſtures, and liſtened with attention to a ſermon, which was delivered on the occaſion.

This diſcovery ſeemed of ſo great importance, that the admiral immediately diſpatched a ſhip to Portugal with advice. This intelligence was highly acceptable to the mother country; and though Braſil has ſeen various revolutions and changes ſince its firſt diſcovery, it has long remained the moſt valuable appendage of his Faithful Majeſty. A free intercourſe was inſtantly eſtabliſhed between the natives and the Portugueſe in De Cabral's ſquadron; they viſited each other, and interchanged civilities without the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion.

The country produced maize and cotton, and appeared abundantly fertile. A ſtone croſs was erected to denote poſſeſſion, whence this colony was at firſt called Santa Cruz, but its name was afterwards changed to Braſil, from the trees ſo called, in which it abounds. The fertility and beauty of the ſoil are not ſuperior to the ſalubrity of the climate, for here the natives live to a very extended age. Several large rivers and an infinite number of delightful ſtreams water this country. The plains are ſpacious, and the whole face of nature beautifully diverſified.

At this period, the natives were ſtrangers to every kind of learning; and reſtrained by no laws but thoſe of nature. They had no ſuperior, except when they were engaged in war. On ſuch occaſions, the man moſt diſtinguiſhed for bravery was elevated to the rank of general. Few of them wore any dreſs except on the head, which was adorned with plumes of feathers. Some alſo wore feather ornaments from the waiſt to the knee. The women ſeemed to pride themſelves in combing and dreſſing their hair, while the men were ſhaved from the forehead to the crown. Such as affected finery, ſuſpended ſtones of various colours and ſometimes ſhells from their ears, noſtrils, and lips. They were very dexterous archers, and their arrows, being pointed with fiſh bones, were capable of doing much execution. Hunting was their principal ſupport; as for agriculture, it was ſcarcely attended to. They had boats made of the bark of trees large enough to contain thirty men; and while one party on board paddled theſe veſſels along, another beat the water to diſturb the fiſhes, which riſing to the ſurface, were caught in large calibaſhes.

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Their dwellings were ſmall wooden huts, thatched with reeds, and ſurrounded with paliſadoes. Several families, connected by the ties of friendſhip, lived within the ſame incloſure; and between them, the moſt affectionate regard, in general, ſubſiſted. Divorces were allowed for the moſt trifling offence; and if the wives proved unfaithful, they might either be killed or ſold for ſlaves.

Among a people, where manufactures and commerce were ſcarcely known, much activity of body or of mind could not be expected. They, however, indulged in feaſting, ſinging, and dancing. In their dances they diſplayed little agility. Having formed a ring, inſtead of varied motions, they remained on the ſame ſpot, beating the ground with their feet, and keeping meaſure with their ſongs, which were compoſed to celebrate their own exploits. While one ſet was thus employed, another kept plying them with liquor, till they could ſtand no longer; and then ſucceed in their turn.

To revenge an injury, or an inſult, was the only pretext for war. Theſe people never thought of enlarging their territories, but only of defending them. Their priſoners were treated with that want of generous feeling, which diſtinguiſhes uncivilized nations; and, from various teſtimonies, there is too much reaſon to believe, that they neither thought it unlawful or improper to kill and eat them. Yet, we muſt not credit all that is ſaid on this ſubject: the aboriginal Braſilians, though uncultivated, were naturally mild; and we ſhould hope, in general, abhorrent of ſuch deteſtable crimes.

The only enemy that moleſted the repoſe of the Braſilians, was a wild and ſavage race inhabiting the mountains. Among this people, murder was the only puniſhable crime, and life for life the uſual expiation. But if the murderer eſcaped, his neareſt relations were delivered up as ſlaves to the heirs of the deceaſed, when all reſentment ceaſed.

Among the Braſilians, ſuperſtition had long prevailed and taken deep root. Omens were obſerved, and ſorcery practiſed by a particular order of men, who were held in high veneration, and conſulted on all emergencies. Theſe perſons generally carried an arrow, at the extremity of which hung a calibaſh, within which they kindled the leaves of a certain plant, and inhaling the ſmoke by their noſtrils, ſoon became intoxicated. They then rolled their eyes and threw their bodies into a variety of contortions; uttering an unconnected jargon of ſenſe and nonſenſe, which the deluded ſpectators conſidered as the effect of divine inſpiration. Theſe impoſtors were conſtantly attended by the credulous multitude with every mark of reſpect and joy; and neither married nor ſingle females were thought to be diſhonoured by their embraces.

Such are the accounts tranſmitted to us of the inhabitants of Braſil, when it was firſt known to Europeans. De Cabral left here two convicts, whoſe ſentence had been changed to tranſportation, and of whom he had ſeveral on board. Theſe were kindly uſed by the Indians; and one of them acquiring the language, was long uſeful to his country in the capacity of interpreter.

Setting ſail from the coaſt of Braſil, the fleet ſteered for the Cape of Good Hope, and met the

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ſual concomitants of that coaſt, ſtorms and tempeſts. For the firſt time they ſaw a water-ſpout, on the 28th of May, and being unacquainted with this phenomenon, conſidered it as an indication of fair weather; but ſuddenly, ſuch a terrible hurricane aroſe, that four of the ſhips were daſhed againſt each other, and, with every perſon on board, ſunk, without the poſſibility of granting them relief. Among thoſe who found a watery grave, was the celebrated Bartholomew Diaz, who had firſt doubled the Cape, and paved the way to the Indies. The remainder of the fleet was half filled with water; and for the ſpace of two days, they had no other proſpect than of following the fate of their unfortunate companions. On the third day, the wind ſeemed to abate, but it was only during the interval of its veering to another point, from whence it began to blow with increaſed violence, and the waves to ſwell to the height of mountains. This dreadful tempeſt laſted twenty days, in all its horrors, while every moment threatened death; but at length moderating, they found that they had paſſed the Cape of Good Hope. During this ſtorm the ſhips had been ſeparated; but afterwards, all joined company, ſave one, which, after incredible diſaſters, at laſt reached Portugal with only ſix men alive.

The admiral fell in with the coaſt of Africa in 17 deg. ſouth latitude; and had a proſpect of a country pleaſant and full of flocks. But the natives declining to have any commerce with him, he cruized along the coaſt. Coming in ſight of ſome iſlands near the continent, he obſerved two ſhips at anchor, which, ſlipping their cables, endeavoured to eſcape; but were captured by the

Portugueſe, in ſpite of all their efforts. De Cabral, on taking poſſeſſion of them, being informed that they belonged to a prince allied to the King of Melinda, and that they were proceeding from the gold mines of Sofala, diſmiſſed them untouched, out of compliment to a ſovereign who had ſhewn himſelf ſo partial to the Portugueſe.

The admiral touched at Moſambique, and providing himſelf with a pilot, continued his courſe to Quiloa. Being arrived there, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Ibrahim, the king, informing him that he had letters for him from his Portugueſe Majeſty, in terms of friendſhip and alliance; and that, as his royal maſter had expreſsly forbid him to go on ſhore, he hoped his majeſty would honour him with an interview on the water. Ibrahim received the communication with ſenſible pleaſure, and inſtantly forwarded ſome preſents to the commander, with a promiſe of meeting him next day. Accordingly, he came in a richly ornamented veſſel, attended by a large retinue ſplendidly dreſſed, and armed with ſwords and daggers, the hilts of which ſparkled with diamonds, while the whole harbour reſounded with the muſic of flutes and trumpets.

De Cabral was attentive to receive his majeſty with ſuitable honours; he ſaluted him with the great guns; and ordering all his officers, dreſſed in their richeſt uniforms, to attend him in their reſpective boats, he proceeded in his own barge to the veſſel in which the king was ſeated. Mutual compliments paſſed, he delivered his royal maſter's letters written in Arabic, and communicated the particulars of his embaſſy, which the king heard with much ſatisfaction; and replied, that he ſhould henceforth conſider Ema-

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nuel as his brother, and promote his intereſt with zeal. It was alſo agreed, that the next day a deputy ſhould be ſent on ſhore to ratify the treaty, and this interview ended with the moſt promiſing appearances of a cordial and advantageous alliance between the contracting nations. But theſe proſpects were ſuddenly blaſted by the artful inſinuations of the Arabian merchants, who repreſented the Portugueſe as a ſet of ſanguinary pirates, who, under the maſk of friendſhip, plotted to deprive the king of his poſſeſſions, and ravage his country. Theſe inſinuations were ſo powerfully addreſſed to the conviction of the African prince, that he laid aſide all thoughts of confirming the propoſed alliance, and ſet about putting his city in a poſture of defence. This unpleaſant news being communicated to De Cabral by the King of Melinda's brother, who was at that time at Quiloa, he reſolved to proſecute his voyage, and to confute his enemies by his conduct.

The dominions of Ibrahim were of great extent. They reached nearly four hundred leagues along the coaſt, from Cape Corientes almoſt to Mombaſſa. Theſe territories were populous and full of towns; and a number of iſlands on the coaſt were tributary. The king and his ſubjects were Mahometans. Quiloa was a place of great trade, particularly in the gold of Sofala, on which account there was a great reſort of merchants from Arabia Felix and other regions. The ſhips here, as was cuſtomary on this coaſt, were built without nails, and wild frankincenſe was employed inſtead of pitch.

From Quiloa the admiral ſteered for Melinda. As ſoon as he dropped anchor, he ſaluted the town

town with all his ordnance, and ſet on ſhore the ambaſſador, who had viſited the court of Portugal, attended by ſome Portugueſe, who carried rich preſents and a letter from King Emanuel. The preſents were ſo ſatisfactory to his majeſty, that next day he made his appearance on a horſe richly capariſoned with furniture received from Portugal; and in this ſtyle proceeded to the ſeaſide, where the admiral met him with his officers in their boats; and the moſt friendly interview took place. But notwithſtanding the preſſing ſolicitations of the king, the admiral declined making any long ſtay; he, however, left two exiles, who were ordered, if poſſible, to penetrate to Ethiopia, where fame had reported there was a Chriſtian prince, and to inform themſelves of the manners and cuſtoms of his people.

On the 7th of Auguſt, De Cabral ſet ſail from Melinda with a fair wind, and touched at the Anchediva Iſlands, where waiting a few days, in vain, for the ſhips of Mecca, he renewed his voyage, and on the 13th of September caſt anchor near Calicut. A number of boats with proviſions ſoon viſited him; and afterwards ſome of the principal naires, with a meſſage from the zamorin, expreſſive of the pleaſure he felt at his arrival, and with proffers of the ſincereſt friendſhip. On this the admiral wafted his ſhips nearer the city, and ſent off the four Malabars, whom De Gama had carried away, with a meſſenger to demand a ſafe conduct. The natives ſeeing their countrymen return in good health and well dreſſed, after the Portugueſe faſhion, began to entertain favourable ſentiments of their viſitors. The emperor, too, ſhewed great ſigns of ſatisfaction, though he would not immediate-

ly admit them to his preſence. He, however, gave free permiſſion for every perſon to come on ſhore. The admiral on this ſent Alonzo Hertido, with an interpreter, to inform the zamorin, that he was commiſſioned to ſettle a trade and friendſhip with him, the ſole view of his coming; and therefore requeſted hoſtages, that he might perſonally wait on his majeſty. The cutival and one of the principal naires were named by De Cabral as the perſons he ſhould wiſh to be ſent on board.

To this the emperor objected, on account of their age and infirmities, and nominated others, while the Arabs ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves to prevent his truſting any; but after three days deliberation, the zamorin, elated with the proſpect of commercial advantages, diſpatched the hoſtages. The admiral, having delegated his command to Sancho de Toar during his abſence, and left directions to entertain the hoſtages with reſpect, but not to deliver them up on any pretence, reſolved to wait on his majeſty on ſhore.

This being ſettled, ſeveral of the principal naires, with a large retinue and a band of muſic, were ſent to conduct the admiral on ſhore, who being informed that the emperor waited for him in a pavilion near the ſhore, ſet out with all poſſible ſtate, accompanied by his officers and the boats of the fleet. The hoſtages expreſſed a reluctance to enter the ſhips till they ſaw the admiral landed, being apprehenſive of ſome treachery. During this diſpute, De Cabral ſtepped on ſhore, where many principal naires waited for him; and was immediately ſeated in a chair, and, with all his train, carried to the ſerama, a kind

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of lodge covered with tapeſtry, at the farther end of which ſat the zamorin, croſs-legged on a cuſhion, in an alcove, from the top of which hung a cloth of ſtate, of crimſon velvet.

Nothing could be more ſplendid, or more rich, than the dreſs of the zamorin. His head was covered with a cap of gold cloth; and from his ears depended brilliants, compoſed of diamonds, ſapphires, and pearls. Round his waiſt he wore a piece of white calico embroidered with gold: the reſt of his body was naked. His arms, from the elbow to the wriſt, were loaded with bracelets of the moſt coſtly ſtones; his fingers and toes were covered with rings, and on his great toe was a ruby of the brighteſt luſtre. But all this was ſurpaſſed by the richneſs of his girdle, which was wholly covered with precious ſtones ſet in gold, and caſt a dazzling luſtre. Near the emperor ſtood a chair of ſtate; and his litter was entirely compoſed of gold and ſilver, ſprinkled with jewels. There were alſo three golden trumpets and ſeventeen of ſilver, the mouths of which were ſet with gems; and ſilver lamps and cenſors ſmoked with the ſweeteſt perfumes. At ſome little diſtance from the zamorin ſtood his two brothers, and, a little farther off, a train of nobles.

The admiral, on his admiſſion, intended to have kiſſed the zamorin's hand; but being informed that was not the etiquette, he deſiſted; and was ſeated in a chair next his majeſty, the higheſt honour that could be ſhewn him. He then delivered his letters of credence, written in Arabic, which being read, he next communicated his meſſage, importing, that the King of Portugal was anxious to cultivate a friendſhip with the zamorin,

zamorin, and to be permitted to ſettle a factory at Calicut, which ſhould be conſtantly ſupplied with European commodities; and requeſted that, either by way of exchange or for money, he might be allowed to lade his ſhips with ſpices. The terms of this embaſſy appeared highly flattering to the zamorin; and he informed the admiral, that his maſter ſhould be welcome to whatever his city ſupplied.

While the conference was going on, the preſents were introduced. They conſiſted of a wrought ſilver baſon gilt, a fountain of the ſame, a ſilver cup with a gilt cover, two wedges of gold, four cuſhions, two cloths of gold, and two of crimſon velvet, a cloth of ſtate, of ſtripe velvet, laced with gold, a very fine carpet, and two rich pieces of arras.

After the audience, the zamorin told the admiral, that he might either retire to the ſhips or lodgings; that he muſt ſend for the hoſtages, who, being unaccuſtomed to the ſea, he was certain, would neither eat nor drink on board; but adding, that if he came next day to conclude the negotiation, they ſhould be again committed as pledges for his ſecurity.

This auſpicious beginning was in danger of being blaſted, by ſome unreaſonable jealouſy on both ſides. The admiral having reached the ſea-ſide, a ſervant, belonging to one of the hoſtages went before in a pinnace, by order of ſome of the zamorin's officers of ſtate, to acquaint them that the admiral was coming on board. This they no ſooner heard, than they leaped into the ſea, in order to get off in the pinnace, but ſome of them were retaken. The reſt, however, got off, and among them the cutival. In the interim,

rim, the admiral coming on board, ordered thoſe, who had been retaken, to be put under the hatches, and ſent to the emperor to complain of the conduct of the reſt; promiſing to deliver up thoſe he had detained, as ſoon as his men on ſhore and baggage were reſtored.

This ſhews that neither party yet thought it adviſable to truſt the other. Next day, however, the zamorin, with one thouſand two hundred men came down to the water ſide, and ſent on board the admiral's men and baggage, and no leſs than thirty pinnaces attended to fetch back the hoſtages. While they were heſitating, on both ſides, about the delivery, the eldeſt of the pledges and another perſon jumped overboard. One of them was again recovered; and was ordered to be cloſely watched; but no requiſition being made of him in three days; and the admiral obſerving that he could not be brought to eat, at laſt diſmiſſed him; on which, two Portugueſe, ſtill on ſhore, were ſent back.

Some days after this elapſed without any intelligence from the emperor; on which the admiral reſolved to ſend a meſſenger, to learn if he was diſpoſed to finiſh the treaty begun, in which caſe he propoſed to ſend his chief factor on ſhore, provided hoſtages were delivered as before. Fear and ſuſpicion had, however, ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed all on board, that Franciſco Correa was the only perſon who would engage to deliver the meſſage. On his landing, he was handſomely received, and the zamorin told him, that it would give him pleaſure to have the trade ſettled, and made no difficulty in truſting the Portugueſe with hoſtages. He nominated, as his pledges, the two nephews of a rich Guzerat merchant,

chant, who were immediately ſent on board; and an elegant houſe was provided for Ayres Correa, the factor, in which he might lodge his merchandiſe. The grandfather of the hoſtages was farther appointed to inſtruct the factor in the cuſtoms and uſages of the commerce of the country. However, the Guzerat merchant having a predilection for the Arabian traders, ſold the Portugueſe commodities at what price was offered, and adviſed Correa to give as much for the merchandiſe of India as was aſked. Whenever the factor had an audience of the zamorin, ſome of the Arabian merchants were preſent to counteract his meaſures; and they even prevailed on the Admiral of Calicut to proceed to ſome ſteps indicating hoſtilities.

De Cabral, acquainted with theſe movements, and apprehenſive that he might be attacked by the imperial fleet, if he remained in the harbour, weighed anchor and ſtood out to ſea, that he might deliberate in ſecurity on what was to be done. The zamorin, on this, ſent for Correa, and being apprized of the reaſons that induced De Cabral to leave the harbour, deſired he would requeſt his return, and gave prompt orders for fruſtrating the machinations of the Arabians. He alſo removed the Guzerat merchant from his attendance on Correa, and ſubſtituted another perſon, named Coſebequin, who, though a Turk, was partial to the Portugueſe. And to prevent the factor from being interrupted by the Arabian merchants, and to give him an equal opportunity of trading to advantage, beſtowed on him the perpetuity of a houſe near the ſea-ſide. This deed of gift was confirmed by ſigning and ſealing an inſtrument, which was afterwards wrapped

up in cloth of gold, for the admiral to carry to Portugal, in confirmation of his amicable intentions. The emperor alſo ordered, that a flag, with the arms of Portugal, ſhould be fixed on the top of this edifice. After this unequivocal mark of the zamorin's pleaſure, a commercial intercourſe began to commence between the natives and the Portugueſe, and their former jealouſies ſeemed to die away.

While theſe tranſactions were going on, De Cabral was made acquainted, that a large Ceyloneſe ſhip, with ſeveral elephants on board, was bound to Cambaya, and that the commander having refuſed to accommodate the zamorin with one of thoſe animals, it would be a grateful piece of ſervice, if the Portugueſe would capture the veſſel. This ſeems neither very honourable nor politic; but the admiral, to oblige the zamorin, gave him to underſtand that he would attack the ſhip, though he repreſented the attempt as dangerous. Senſible, however, of his own ſuperiority, he allotted only one ſhip for this enterpriſe, and gave the command to Pedro Attaida. Scarce were the Portugueſe prepared for the engagement, when the ſhip appeared, while the zamorin waited the event with earneſt impatience. Attaida inſtantly bore down upon her, till his guns could bear with effect; and opening upon the Ceyloneſe, killed a number of the men before they were near enough to do him any damage, and compelled them to endeavour to ſave themſelves by flight. Night coming on, they eſcaped into the harbour of Cananore; but finding they had not eluded the purſuit of the Portugueſe, they again put to ſea, and the engagement being renewed, they were forced into the harbour of

Calicut

Calicut, and ſecured. This engagement gave the amorin a very exalted idea of the bravery of he Portugueſe, who with one ſmall ſhip attack- d another of ſix times the magnitude and num- er of men; and he laviſhly publiſhed his ſenti- ents on the occaſion.

That malice, which had always been rankling n the breaſts of the Arabians againſt the Portu- ueſe, was now exacerbated by envy. They aited on the emperor in a body, and with af- ected zeal, repreſented the concern they felt at eing his majeſty's partiality for the ſtrangers, hile he evinced little regard for thoſe, whoſe ng-tried fidelity and ſupport had entitled them his entire confidence. They inſinuated, that he Portugueſe muſt infallibly be pirates; as it as impoſſible the fair profits of trade could en- ble them to take ſuch diſtant voyages. They oldly affirmed, that it was the deſign of the new omers to take poſſeſſion of the city and plunder e country; that their factory would ſoon be nverted to a fort; and, in fine, if his majeſty as determined to give ſuch a diſtinguiſhed pre- rence to the Portugueſe, it was their own in- ntion to remove to ſome other town on the aſt of Malabar, and carry their commerce with hem.

The ſuggeſtions of theſe merchants, though ori- inating from ſpite, have partly been verified by ucceeding events. The factory has too often een converted into a fort; and the ſimple na- ves have fallen victims to the avarice or ambi- on of ungrateful Europeans, whom they were ger to oblige. On recording the eſtabliſhment the firſt factory in India, we feel the full rce of this reflection. How much miſery has the

thirſt for monopoly, or the love of conqueſt, ſpread over ſome of the moſt fertile countries of the earth!

The zamorin, to pacify the importunity of the Arabians, aſſured them of his invariable friendſhip, and that he would not deſert their intereſts. He obſerved, that he was deſirous of trying the courage of the Portugueſe in the late conflict, and that it was for his own advantage and that of his country to encourage their commercial intercourſe. The merchants were far from being ſatisfied with thoſe reaſons; and were more irritated againſt the Portugueſe than ever. They publicly oppoſed them, as far as they dared, in the purchaſe of ſpices; and though the emperor himſelf had engaged that the fleet ſhould be laden in twenty days, three months elapſed before two ſhips had laid in their full complement.

The admiral naturally ſuſpected that this delay could not ariſe but from the conſent or connivance of the zamorin, and therefore ſent to complain that, contrary to the profeſſions which had been made, the Arabian ſhips were ſupplied with great facility and expedition, while the Portugueſe had conſtant impediments thrown in their way. This remonſtrance rouſed the emperor to aſſert his authority; he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that the Arabs ſhould dare to diſobey his commands, by a clandeſtine purchaſe of ſpices, and ordered that the Portugueſe ſhould have their lading completed out of the ſtores accumulated by them, paying, however, a fair price for what was thus wreſted out of the hands of the eaſtern merchants.

This act of ſovereign power gave the Arabians the opportunity which they long wiſhed for, of coming

oming to an open rupture with the Portugueſe. mmediately, one of the principal perſons among hem began publicly to take in his lading, and, the etter to ſucceed in his ſcheme, formed a cabal ith ſome of his countrymen, and ſuch of the atives as were moſt friendly to the new intereſt, ho perſuaded the factor, that it was his duty, n conformity to the imperial mandate, to ſeize heſe ſpices. Correa, caught by this ſpecious adice, recommended to the admiral to capture the hip. At firſt he declined it, apprehenſive of the onſequences: but, on reiterated applications, nd the factor engaging to anſwer for any danger hat might ariſe, De Cabral ſent to inform the aptain that he muſt not depart without his permiſſion. But the Arabians, as was concerted mong them, diſregarding this threat, the admiral commanded his officers to arm the boats, and ow the veſſel, which was under ſail, back again nto the harbour. The owner, a perſon of great wealth and influence, highly enraged at this proceeding, though he had planned it, aſſembled his friends and adherents, and repairing to the palace, grievouſly complaining, that the Portugueſe, after having amaſſed more ſpices and drugs than they had, were yet diſcontented, and, like robbers and pirates, wiſhed to ſeize the whole. They therefore demanded permiſſion to redreſs themſelves, and to execute revenge for the injury. The reſolution of the zamorin, which had conſtantly been fluctuating, now gave way to theſe repreſentations; and he intimated that they might ſatisfy themſelves.

This fatal compliance with their wiſhes being obtained, they haſtened back to aſſault the factory. The walls of this building were ten feet

high, and, at this time, ſeventy men, including the friars, were within its bounds; but, excluſive of their ſwords, they had only a few croſs bows. A ſmall party of Arabs at firſt advancing, the Portugueſe hoped to be able to defend their gates. But the numbers of the aſſailants rapidly increaſing, and the Portugueſe having already loſt five men, with difficulty ſhut their gates, and betook themſelves to the walls with their croſs-bows. Correa perceiving that the enemy amounted to four hundred men, and that they were countenanced by ſeveral naires, hoiſted a flag of diſtreſs.

The admiral being indiſpoſed, immediately ſent Sancho de Toar, with all the boats and a ſtrong detachment to the relief of the factory; but this officer thought it dangerous to land in the face of ſuch an enemy, or even to approach too near the ſhore. Meanwhile many of the beſieged being wounded with an inceſſant ſhower of arrows and ſpears, and perceiving the Arabs preparing their battering engines, they reſolved to abandon the factory by a door opening to the water ſide; but the enemy preſſed them ſo cloſely, that only twenty eſcaped. The greateſt part of the wounded died; and fifty were either killed or taken priſoners on the ſpot. Among the former was Ayres Correa. The ſon of that gentleman, a boy about eleven years of age, who afterwards was renowned for his bravery and reſolution, was ſaved by the perſevering efforts of a ſailor, who ſwam with him on board. The merchandiſe loſt on this occaſion amounted to four thouſand ducats.

The admiral was at once impreſſed with grief and fired with reſentment; and finding no apology

logy was ſent by the zamorin, reſolved on a ſe-vere revenge. He therefore gave orders for at-tacking ten large Arabian veſſels in the harbour; and after an obſtinate conflict, and the deſtruc-tion of many of the attacked, the ſhips were captured, and the ſurviving Arabs compelled to ſerve as ſailors. Three elephants were found in the prizes, which were killed and ſalted for proviſions, which began to grow ſcarce. The ſpices and other goods were then taken out, and the ſhips burned in the ſight of their owners and partizans. While this was tranſacting, the in-habitants ran up and down the city of Calicut, in the greateſt conſternation and diſmay, being terrified at the ſight of the flames, and the un-expected iſſue of the conteſt.

Here revenge ought to have ſtopped, and ſure-ly juſtice was ſatisfied; but the admiral medi-tated more. He ordered his ſhips to ſpread along the ſhore, and advance with their boats before them as near it as poſſible. The ordnance then began to play on the town with great fury and with much execution, both among the houſes and the citizens, who crowding together, to avoid or repel the danger, fell thick at every ſhot. Several of the temples were demoliſhed; the palace of the zamorin was much injured; and the ſovereign himſelf, who fled in the gene-ral terror, narrowly eſcaped a bullet from one of the boats, which killed a naire cloſe behind him.

Towards evening the cannonading ceaſed, and after an ineffectual attempt to ſecure ſome ſhips that were making for the port, the admi-ral purſued his voyage to Cochin, in order to ſettle a factory there, and in his paſſage took two Arabian ſhips.

S h

Such was the ſerious commencement of hoſtilities between the Europeans and the Indians; and the effuſion of blood has at intervals continued for ages. The natives of the eaſt have ſometimes had their revenge, by ſeeing their country and its produce ſet the aggreſſors againſt one another; but ſurely trade might have been carried on without violence, or an encroachment on the ſacred rights of the aboriginal inhabitants.

De Cabral arrived before the city of Cochin on the 20th of December. This place is ſituated on a river about 19 leauges ſouth of Calicut, and has a ſafe capacious port: the land within is low and broken into many iſlands. The houſes here were built after the ſame faſhion as at Calicut, and were inhabited by Pagans and Arabs. The territory being ſmall and barren, proviſions were by no means plentiful; but there was an abundance of pepper. The king, whoſe name was Trimumpara, was tributary to the Emperor of Calicut, and conſequently was not rich; but the conduct of the Portugueſe to a ſuperior, by whom he was oppreſſed, gave him a ſtrong partiality in their favour.

The admiral having anchored, diſpatched an Indian convert, named Michael Joghi, to the king, to announce his arrival, and to explain what had happened at Calicut. He farther deſired leave to trade for ſpices and other commodities, either in exchange for merchandiſe or money.

The meſſenger was one of the ſect of the Bramins who affect the utmoſt contempt for ſenſual enjoyments, and attempt to pleaſe the Deity by auſterities more than human. This perſon was now converted to Chriſtianity, and behaved with great

great integrity. He returned with a very polite and civil anſwer from his majeſty, who expreſſed his joy at the arrival of the Portugueſe: and immediately diſpatched two of his principal naires as hoſtages, on condition that they might be changed every day, becauſe, by the cuſtoms of the country, ſhould they once eat on ſhip-board, they can never more appear in the preſence of royalty.

The admiral, pleaſed with this auſpicious beginning, appointed Gonzalo Gil Barbiſa his factor, and gave him a clerk, an interpreter, and four exiles as ſervants.

Some of the principal officers of ſtate immediately conducted the factor to court; but here was none of the magnificence and grandeur of Calicut. The prince himſelf was indifferently clad; the walls of his palace were without hangings, and were furniſhed with ſeats railed in, where the king ſat without any external pomp. As ſoon as the factor was introduced, he preſented a ſilver waſhing bowl, full of ſaffron, a ſilver ewer, with roſe water, and ſome branches of coral. The king accepted the preſent with apparent pleaſure, thanked the admiral in whoſe name it had been offered; and having converſed ſome time with the factor, commanded that he and his retinue ſhould be well accommodated.

The admiral was averſe to truſting more men on ſhore, apprehenſive of the misfortunes which attended his factory at Calicut; but the event ſhewed, that miſtruſt was here unneceſſary. The kind uſage the Portugueſe experienced, the diſpatch with which the ſhips were laden, and the frank alertneſs with which the natives rendered them aſſiſtance, ſhewed that the profeſſions of the prince were the ſentiments of his heart.

The

The lading being completed, while the admiral was on ſhore, he received a viſit from two Indian Chriſtians, brothers, who expreſſed their wiſh to ſail to Portugal, in order to viſit Rome and Jeruſalem. Theſe Chriſtians were denominated from St. Thomas, who having preached the goſpel in the Eaſt, ſuffered martyrdom near Madras. Cabral interrogated them whether they belonged to the Latin or Greek church, and if the country from whence they came was wholly peopled with Chriſtians? One of them replied, that the inhabitants were a mixture of Chriſtians, Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, from Syria, Egypt, Perſia, and Arabia; that the Chriſtians were ſubject to a tribute, and had a quarter of the city to themſelves, in which they were indulged with a church; but it had neither croſſes, images, nor bells. He farther ſaid, that they had their own pope, under whom were twelve cardinals, and two patriarchs, with many archbiſhops and biſhops, who reſided in Armenia; to which place all the clergy reſorted for orders, and to obtain inſtitution to their cures or dignities, the juriſdiction of the pope extending over India and Catay. That the two patriarchs reſided in thoſe provinces, and the biſhops were diſperſed in the different cities throughout this immenſe extent. He added, that their ſupreme head was called Catholicos, and that their tonſure was made in the form of a croſs.

The admiral having heard this detail, readily granted their requeſt of conveying them to Portugal. Soon after this, meſſengers arrived from the kings of Cananore and Coulan, inviting the Portugueſe to come and trade in their ports, where ſpices ſhould be furniſhed on the moſt advantageous

antageous terms. The admiral returned his acknowledgments, but declined accepting their obliging invitations, having already completed his cargo; but promiſed to viſit them on his return to the Indies.

While the Portugueſe were thus amicably treated at Cochin, the zamorin had been active in preparing to revenge the deſtruction of his capital. A fleet of twenty-five large ſhips, beſides a number of ſmaller ones, appeared on the coaſt, when the King of Cochin, being informed of the deſign of this armament, immediately gave the requiſite information to the admiral, and offered him all the aſſiſtance in his power. He ſtated that there were fifteen thouſand men on board, and ſeemed apprehenſive of the conſequences, from ſuch an evident diſparity of numbers. De Cabral returned his majeſty his moſt grateful thanks; but aſſured him that he ſhould be able to make the zamorin repent of his temerity; and having prepared his ſhips for an engagement, ſailed directly to meet the enemy.

A ſtorm ariſing, and the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to return, but next day proceeded again in queſt of the foe. However, one of his beſt ſhips, that commanded by Sancho de Toar, being miſſing, he judged it adviſable to abandon his deſign of an attack, and to ſteer homewards. The Calicut fleet purſued him for a day; but were ſoon ſenſible they could not overtake him. Thus prevented from returning to Cochin, as he had propoſed, he carried off the hoſtages, contrary to the laws of nations; and in a manner which left the ſtigma of ingratitude on himſelf. The miſerable men abſtained from food for five days; but afterwards being preſſed by the

the admiral to eat, were at laſt reconciled to their ſituation.

The miſſing ſhip having joined, they arrived on the coaſt of Cananore, where the king repeated his invitation, which induced the admiral to enter the port. The city of Cananore is very large, and is ſituated thirty-one leagues to the north of Cochin. The bay forms a commodious harbour, and the houſes are earth covered with ſlates. The ſurrounding country produces ginger, cardamums, caſſia, myrabolans, and tamarinds, and all the neceſſaries of life. The lakes are full of alligators; and we are gravely told, by the original narrator of this voyage, that the adders are ſo venomous as to kill with their breath. In natural hiſtory moſt of the ancient voyagers are miſerably deficient; and while they indulge in the wonderful, they ſacrifice ſcience and truth. This we ſhould frequently have occaſion to remark, were it our wiſh to make remarks on abſurdities now exploded, and which can only be mentioned to excite a ſmile.

The king of this territory was one of the three independent princes of Malabar, but leſs opulent than the Zamorin of Calicut or the King of Coulan. Here the admiral ſhipped four hundred quintals of cinnamon and ſome ginger; but the king ſuſpecting that the ſmall quantity he bought aroſe from a deficiency in pecuniary reſources occaſioned from the loſſes he had ſuſtained at Calicut, ſent in a moſt generous manner, to offer credit for whatever he might pleaſe to have. De Cabral, having returned merited thanks, was unwilling to leave the king with impreſſions of his poverty; and to convince his majeſty of his reſources, ſhewed the meſſenger a large ſum of money

money, and assured him that his ships being already laden was the real reason of his declining larger purchases at present.

So friendly was this king, that he sent an ambassador to his Portuguese Majesty to cement the intercourse which had just begun. De Cabral now weighed from Cananore, and proceeded to cross the sea that separates India from Africa. In this passage he took a large ship; but finding she belonged to Cambaya, dismissed her with assurances, that his Portuguese Majesty was at war in India with none but the Zamorin of Calicut, and the Arabians of Mecca, from whom he had suffered indignities that demanded an adequate retaliation.

As they were approaching the African shore, a terrible storm arose, in which the ship commanded by Sancho de Toar, one of the best in the fleet, was driven on a bank, and stuck fast. The crew and cargo were saved, and distributed among the other vessels; after which she was burned, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. Notwithstanding this precaution, the King of Mombassa, by much industry, found means to recover the great guns, which he esteemed a most valuable treasure. The tempest still continuing, they passed Melinda without being able to bring to, and at last reached Mosambique, where they found it necessary to refit the ships.

This being accomplished, De Toar was dispatched to examine the coast of Sofala, while the admiral proceeded on his voyage; and having doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 22d of May, arrived at Lisbon on the last day of July 1501, without any other material occurrence.

This expedition had met with many diſaſters, and encountered a variety of difficulties. Of all the ſhips only ſix returned, among which was De Toar, who ſafely reached Liſbon in a few days after the admiral.

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

VASQUEZ DE GAMA,

TO THE

EAST INDIES.

THE Portugueſe, anxious to reap the earlieſt poſſible fruits of their diſcoveries, exerted all their ſpirit and activity for this purpoſe. Before the arrival of De Cabral, Juan de Neuva, a native of Galicia, and a moſt accompliſhed ſeaman, had been ſent out with another fleet to the Eaſt. His orders were to touch at Sofala, then at Quiloa, and from thence to proceed to Calicut; and if he found De Cabral there, to put himſelf and his ſquadron under the command of that admiral. De Neuva having found a letter at San Blas, giving an account how matters ſtood at Calicut and Cochin, acted with the neceſſary caution. He arrived ſafe at Cochin, and found that the king was highly and deſervedly incenſed againſt De Cabral for carrying away the hoſtages, and that the Moors and merchants had taken every ſtep to prejudice his majeſty againſt the Portugueſe. He had, however, given the factory ſome degree of protection; but without money no ſpices were to be procured at this

place. De Neuva being only furniſhed with commodities which he was to exchange, was obliged to proceed to Cananore; but here too the Portugueſe commodities were in too little eſtimation to procure a lading; and had not the king become ſponſor for a cargo, the ſhips muſt have returned empty.

The zamorin, hearing that his enemies were on the coaſt, fitted out a powerful armament to attack them while they lay at Cananore. De Neuva, not intimidated by numbers, ſteered into the middle of the bay, and ordered his ſhips to pour in broadſides in all directions, if the Indian fleet advanced. A cannonade commenced before the enemy could approach near enough to uſe their miſſile weapons, and many of their ſhips were ſunk without doing the leaſt injury to the Portugueſe. This unequal combat could not laſt long. A flag of truce was hung out by the Indians, and after ſome ineffectual artifices to entrap the Europeans, they returned to Calicut, baffled in all their aims. De Neuva having taken in his lading, returned to Portugal with all his ſhips. After his departure a meſſage was brought to Cananore from the zamorin, to excuſe his former conduct; and offering ſufficient pledges for their ſecurity, ſhould the Portugueſe be diſpoſed to renew their traffic.

This ſhort ſketch of a voyage, not very important in itſelf, is a neceſſary link in the chain of tranſactions.

De Cabral, having made it appear inconteſtibly evident, that without the application of force, it would be impoſſible to form ſettlements in India, his Portugueſe Majeſty ſent out three ſquadrons in March 1502; the firſt of ten ſhips, under

nder the celebrated Vaſquez de Gama; the ſe-
ond of five under Vincent de Sodre; and the
ird of as many, under Stephen de Gama. The
hole was to be ſubordinate to Vaſquez, to
hom the king delivered the flag with great ſo-
mnity in the cathedral, and conferred on him
e title of Admiral of the Eaſtern Seas. With
im returned the ambaſſadors of Cochin and
ananore, who had been much diſtinguiſhed and
areſſed at court. The two firſt ſquadrons ſet
il in March, the other followed about the be-
inning of May.

Off Cape Verd, the admiral fell in with a ſhip
r Liſbon, richly laden with gold, which De
ama diſplayed to the Indian ambaſſadors as a
roof of the rich reſources of his country. They
andidly confeſſed, that this did not accord with
he repreſentations of the Venetian ambaſſador
Portugal; for that he had given them to un-
erſtand, that without the aſſiſtance of the Vene-
ians, the Portugueſe were too poor to put ſhips
ſea. This mode of ſupplanting their new ri-
ls in the commerce of the Eaſt was not very
onourable; but where is honour to be found,
hen intereſt ſtands in the way?

De Gama doubled the Cape without any re-
arkable occurrence, and then proceeded with
our of his ſmalleſt veſſels for Sofala, while
he reſt continued their voyage to Moſambique.
he king's orders were, to obſerve the ſituation of
ofala, its convenience for erecting a fort, and
o examine the gold of the country. Having
ntered into an amicable treaty with the king,
e obtained permiſſion to erect a fort; and mu-
al preſents were exchanged. This tranſaction
ccupied twenty-five days, and the admiral took

his leave with much ſatisfaction at having accompliſhed his object; but in turning out of the river, had the misfortune to loſe one of his ſhips.

Having reached Moſambique, where part of his fleet had preceded him, he ſtruck up a league with the king, who had manifeſted ſo much reluctance to it in his former voyage: and farther, obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh a factory: the object of which was, to furniſh a depot of proviſions for ſhips going and returning to India.

On the 12th of July he arrived at Quiloa; and in revenge for the ill uſage experienced by De Cabral, determined to compel the king to become tributary to Portugal. Ibrahim, through fear, rather than reſpect, waited on him, as ſoon as he arrived; when De Gama, knowing his perfidious diſpoſition, threatened to confine him under the hatches, unleſs he immediately ſtipulated to pay a tribute to his royal maſter. The captive prince had now no alternative. He engaged to advance two thouſand miticals of gold yearly; but with his accuſtomed duplicity, gave as his pledge a wealthy Moor, named Mahomet, whom he mortally hated, and was happy to get rid of. Ibrahim being liberated on theſe conditions, no ſooner found himſelf ſafe on ſhore, than he renounced his engagement; not ſo much to ſave the money, as to provoke the admiral to deſtroy his ſecurity; and the Moor finding himſelf trapped, was glad to purchaſe his freedom by paying the tribute himſelf.

Having here formed a junction with the reſt of the fleet, the admiral recommenced his voyage, and paſſing Melinda, watered in a large bay about eight leagues diſtance, where he captured ſeveral ſhips. On reaching the coaſt of India, he

he fell in with a large veſſel belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, which was richly laden, and had many principal Moors on board, who were going on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This ſhip he took after a vigorous reſiſtance; and going on board, commanded the Moors to produce their merchandiſe, on pain of being thrown into the ſea. They pretended that all their effects were left at Calicut; but one of them having been bound hand and foot, and thrown overboard, the reſt were ſo intimidated at this dreadful example, that they produced their property. The children were then carried into the admiral's ſhip, and the remainder of the plunder diſtributed among the ſoldiers. Not ſatisfied with this, the veſſel, with all her paſſengers, was ordered to be ſet on fire. But the Moors having broken up the hatches, under which they were confined, and quenched the flames, which began to rage around them, Stephen de Gama was ordered to lay them on board. Deſperate with the immminence of their danger, the paſſengers received him with great reſolution, and even attempted to burn the other ſhips. Night coming on, gave a reſpite to this work of horror; but ſo inveterate was the rage of De Gama, that he ordered the ſhip to be cloſely watched, that none might, by the favour of the darkneſs, eſcape to the ſhore and elude his vengeance. During this dreadful night, the poor Moors, with unavailing prayers, invoked the aſſiſtance of the prophet. The morning found the admiral relentleſs and unpitying. His brother boarded the veſſel, and ſetting fire to it, drove the Moors, who ſtill make an ineffectual ſtruggle, into the poop. Some of the ſailors diſdained to quit the ſhip till ſhe was half

half conſumed; and the Moors, when the flames were rapidly approaching them, leaped into the ſea with hatchets, and ſwimming, attacked their inhuman purſuers. To finiſh this melancholy tale, of three hundred perſons, among whom were thirty women, not one eſcaped the fire, the ſword, or the waves. Can humanity read this without a tear! can Chriſtianity hear it without a bluſh! Theſe victims of unprovoked cruelty will one day be heard at an impartial tribunal, where all the fame of De Gama, and all the Indies, could he poſſeſs them, would be given to ſilence their voice!

The admiral having reached Cananore, ſent to acquaint the king that he deſired a conference with him. To facilitate this interview, a wooden bridge was conſtructed, reaching a great way into the ſea, and ſpread with carpets. At the end of the bridge, towards land, was a houſe of wood, likewiſe furniſhed with carpets. The king arrived firſt, attended by an immenſe body of naires, trumpets ſounding, and other inſtruments of muſic playing before him. Soon after came the admiral, accompanied by all the boats of the fleet, bearing flags, and furniſhed with a band; and was landed under a diſcharge of ordnance. Before him were carried two ſilver baſons, gilt, covered with pieces of coral, and other valued articles in the Indies. At the head of the bridge he was received by ſeveral naires; and the king meeting him at the door of the houſe, embraced him, and they walked together to the room of audience, where two chairs of ſtate were placed, on one of which his majeſty ſat down, a mark of the higheſt reſpect to the admiral, according to the etiquette of the country.

At

At this audience a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded, and a factory granted at Canamore. Having laden some of the ships here, he directed his course to Calicut.

When De Gama arrived in that port, he took several proaz before it was discovered who he was; but forbore all hostilities against the place, till he should be able to ascertain the zamorin's disposition and designs. In a short time a boat came off carrying a flag of truce, with a Moor disguised as a Franciscan friar, who being taken on board, apologized for the deception of his dress, and owned it was assumed from the hope of a ready reception among the Portuguese. He brought a message from the zamorin in relation to the amicable adjustment of a treaty of commerce. The admiral, with firmness replied, that any negotiation of this kind would be premature, till the king had made satisfaction for the destruction of the factory, to which he was consenting.

Several days were spent in fruitless messages and replies. De Gama, suspecting that the only object of the zamorin was to gain time, sent to assure him, that if he did not receive a final and satisfactory answer before noon, he would carry fire and sword into the country, and would begin to execute his vengeance on the prisoners in his possession. The zamorin, irresolute in himself, and under the influence of the Moors, returned no answer. But no sooner was the stipulated time expired, than De Gama fired a gun by way of signal to his captains, to hang up all the Malabars in their respective ships. When this sanguinary execution was over, the admiral ordered the hands and feet of the victims to be struck

ſtruck off, and ſent on ſhore to the zamorin, with a letter in Arabic, giving him to underſtand, that ſuch returns he muſt expect for his perfidy and artifice; and that he would have ſatisfaction an hundred fold for the injuries and indignities that had been offered to the Portugueſe.

Without farther ceremony, he ordered three ſhips to advance, in the night, as cloſe as poſſible to the ſhore; and next morning they began to batter the town, which was ſoon a heap of ruins.

Having glutted his revenge at Calicut, he departed for Cochin, leaving Vincent de Sodre, with ſix ſhips, to ſcour the coaſt and intercept the Mooriſh trade. No ſooner had the admiral arrived at Cochin, than Trimumpara ſent hoſtages on board; and perſonally waited for him on the ſhore. At this interview De Gama delivered the King of Portugal's letter and preſents. The Prince of Cochin received both with expreſſions of pleaſure; aſſigned a houſe for the uſe of the factory, and fixed the rates at which ſpices were to be delivered. This agreement was reduced to writing, and ſigned by Trimumpara. In return for the Portugueſe preſents, which were very coſtly, conſiſting of a gold crown and collar, a rich pavilion, and other valuable articles; he ſent to his brother Emanuel two gold bracelets ſet with jewels, a Mooriſh ſaſh for the head, of ſilver tiſſue, two large pieces of the fineſt calico, and a ſtone about the ſize of a walnut, reputed an antidote againſt poiſon, which was deemed a valuable rarity.

While De Gama lay at Cochin, a meſſenger arrived from the zamorin, to acquaint him, that if he would return to Calicut, every thing ſhould be

e ſettled to his ſatisfaction. The deputy was ut in confinement, that he might be puniſhed n caſe of any new deceit. Having got this hoſt- ge for his own ſecurity, the admiral, contrary the advice of all his captains, determined to rocceed without convoy to Calicut: obſerving, hat in caſe of danger, he had the ſhips of De odre to retreat to.

Being come into the road, the zamorin ſent to nform him, that next day every thing ſhould be ncluded betwixt them; and perhaps at the mo- ent he ſpoke as he intended. But when once propenſity to trick and cunning gains an aſ- ndency over the mind, every opportunity of ſplaying it is embraced with avidity, and the bliquities of deceit are preferred to the ſtraight ad of honour. De Gama was perceived to be nprotected, having left his ſhips behind him. his induced the zamorin to have recourſe again violence. He ſent out thirty proas to take the dmiral; and ſo ſudden and unexpected was this tack, that he was obliged to cut his cables and ve himſelf by flight.

Provoked with reaſon at ſo many repeated in- nces of treachery and duplicity, he ordered e meſſenger, in confinement, to be hanged, on s return to Cochin. At this the zamorin ex- eſſed great concern; but finding that he in in plotted againſt a man whoſe ſuperior addreſs force always brought him off ſafe, he reſolved turn his batteries another way, and to attempt influence the King of Cochin againſt admitting e Portugueſe into his ports. With this view, diſpatched a letter to the tributary prince, in hich he depicted the Europeans as robbers and ates, and repreſented the danger of encourag-

ing

ing them, as well as the diſpleaſure it gave him. Trimumpara replied, that as they brought money into his dominions, it was for his intereſt to encourage them; and that the zamorin would not be willing, at his bare requeſt, to abandon his old friends the Moors. To this the zamorin rejoined, that he was ſorry to find the King of Cochin preferred the friendſhip of ſtrangers to his; and threatened the conſequences of a partiality ſo unjuſt.

The King of Cochin gave him to underſtand, that he diſregarded his menaces, and that he would never do a baſe or perfidious action through fear. Of this correſpondence, De Gama knew nothing till he was about to take his leave of Cochin; when the king informed him of what had paſſed, and declared he would run all riſks in the ſervice of the Portugueſe. De Gama, with many expreſſions of gratitude, aſſured him, that his royal maſter would never be unmindful of ſuch ſteady faith; and, in the name of his ſovereign, he engaged not only to defend the prince, but even to enable him to vanquiſh his enemies, and extend his dominions on their ruins. This declaration inſpired the king with new confidence; and even his naires, if they ſtill retained ſome prejudices againſt the Portugueſe, began to dread the conſequences of their enmity.

The admiral, ſoon after ſailing from Cochin, deſcried a fleet of twenty-nine large ſhips, fitted out by the zamorin to attack him. He immediately bore down to give them battle; and with ſo much vigour did the Portugueſe aſſail the foe, that in a ſhort time, many of them deſerting their ſhips, ſought refuge in the waves; while

others crowded ſail, and made the ſhore, where, on account of the ſhoals, they knew the admiral could not purſue them. Many of the Moors were killed, and two ſhips were taken, richly laden with China ware, ſilver veſſels, gilt, and other coſtly merchandiſe. But the moſt remarkable article on board, was a monſtrous image of gold, weighing thirty pounds. Its eyes were emeralds; and it was partially covered with a drapery of beaten gold, curiouſly wrought, and ſet with brilliants. On the breaſt of this idol was a large ruby of the moſt reſplendent luſtre.

De Gama next proceeded to Cananore, where he obtained a houſe for the erection of a factory; and having regulated the price of ſpices according to the ſtandard fixed on at Cochin, he left twenty-four men to ſuperintend the trade. The two nations ſtipulated to defend each other: and the King of Cananore was not to enter into any alliance inimical to the intereſts of the King of Cochin. This being ſettled, the admiral commiſſioned De Sodre to remain on the coaſt till February; and if, in the interim, there was a probability of a war breaking out between the zamorin and the King of Cochin, he ſhould winter in the latter place; if not, he was then to ſail for the Red Sea, and capture all the ſhips from Mecca he found in his way. Theſe directions De Sodre did not live to execute in their full extent, being loſt in a ſudden ſtorm, which the natives, judging from accuſtomed prognoſtics, had warned him to avoid.

On the 20th of December, the admiral left the coaſt of India, in his way to Portugal, having thirteen ſhips under his conduct; and firſt touched at Moſambique. Near Cape Corientes, he

experienced contrary winds and ſudden ſqualls, but nothing particularly impeding his voyage, he arrived at Caſcais on the 1ſt of September, where ſeveral noblemen met him with their congratulations, and conducted him to court. As he approached his ſovereign, a page preceded him carrying a ſilver baſon with the tribute of the King of Quiloa. King Emanuel gave the admiral a moſt gracious reception, and conferred on him the title of Count Videgueyra.

His great ſervices certainly merited every honour and diſtinction from a grateful country; but his laurels are tarniſhed by exceſſes of ſeverity, ſometimes unprovoked, and frequently diſproportioned to the offence.

GENERAL

GENERAL VIEW

OF THE

PROGRESS AND THE DECLINE

OF THE

PORTUGUESE INTEREST

IN THE

EAST INDIES.

HAVING traced the Portugueſe from diſcovery to war, from trade to the attempt at conqueſt, we ſhall briefly narrate their future proceedings. This will be abſolutely neceſſary to gratify the inquiſitive mind, which delights in being able to connect events; but a particular detail would only diſguſt. The ſame enormities, which diſgraced the Spaniards after the diſcovery of America, ſeem to attach on the characters of the Portugueſe: they purſued the ſame avaricious ends by the ſame ſanguinary means; and without allowing either nation the ſuperiority in infamy, we ſhall permit them to divide the unenvied palm.

In one reſpect, however, they differ. The power of the Spaniards gradually increaſed in America; that of the Portugueſe roſe like a me-

teor, ſpread devaſtation through immenſe regions, and then ſunk into inſignificance and contempt.

The Luſitanian character, at firſt ſo conſpicuous for bravery, ſoon tainted by the luxury of the Eaſt, not only ſunk into effeminacy but the moſt abject vices, and tempted new adventurers to ſeize what was held with ſuch a feeble hand, or enabled the natives to reaſſume their original independence.

But to return, after the progreſs the Portugueſe had made in India, both by negotiation and force, it ſeemed neceſſary to nominate a proper perſon to be intruſted with the care and management of their intereſts in this part of the globe; and as one of thoſe who had already been in the country was deemed moſt fit, the confidence of the court of Liſbon was placed on Alphonſo Albuquerque, an able navigator and a prudent commander. On his arrival in the Eaſt, after De Gama had left it for the ſecond time, he found the trade in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate, from the connections already formed, that he thought it expedient to gain a more permanent eſtabliſhment on the coaſt, and ſuch an one as might be naturally ſtrong, and conveniently ſituated. For this purpoſe, after ſome previous conqueſts, he fixed on Goa, a city near the centre of the coaſt of Malabar. It ſeemed to unite all the advantages which he wiſhed for; ſuperior ſalubrity of the air, one of the fineſt harbours in the world, and a facility of fortification to render it ſecure from attack. This city ſtands on an iſland ſeparated from the continent by a river, which, dividing into two branches, ſurrounds it; while the houſes riſe from the level of the water in the form

form of an amphitheatre. No place could be better adapted for an extenſive trade than this; and to power, whatever ſeems deſirable, is generally conſidered as lawful.

This iſland and city, which belonged to the kingdom of Deccan, were then in the poſſeſſion of Idalcan, an uſurper, who had endeavoured to render himſelf independent of his ſovereign; and was at this time meditating to extend his power ſtill farther in Malabar. Being at this time abſent, in proſecuting ſchemes of aggrandizement, Albuquerque took advantage of it; and regarding Goa as much the right of one uſurper as another, made a ſudden attack, and carried the place without loſs or difficulty.

But Idalcan hearing of this invaſion ſoon flew to his capital; and the Portugueſe being in want of proviſions and other neceſſaries to ſtand a ſiege, Goa again fell into the hands of its former poſſeſſor; but was almoſt as ſpeedily recovered by Albuquerque, who had received reinforcements from Cochin.

The Portugueſe next turned their attention to the conqueſt of Malacca; their uſual ſucceſs attended them in this enterpriſe; and they eſtabliſhed factories here and among the Banda Iſles, and extended their ſettlements from the Red Sea to the Perſian Gulph. And excluſive of the abſolute command of the iſlands, they were complete maſters of the coaſts of both the peninſulas of India.

Through this vaſt track their authority was indiſputed, and their power unlimited: their trade was neither diſturbed by individuals; nor the rights they had aſſumed invaded by natives. To

the former indeed they ſometimes affected to grant licences, but they reſtricted them to particular articles, both of import and export; and retained to themſelves the privilege of ſupplying all the markets of Europe with ſuch commodities as were eaſieſt of conveyance, and produced the moſt conſiderable profit. Thus the commerce of the eaſt was diverted from the channel in which it had ſo long flowed; and Portugal roſe to opulence and reſpect on the decline of Venice and Genoa. Nothing can more powerfully prove the fluctuating nature of trade than this change; and though to the preſent day, the extention, or the monopoly of commerce is the pride of nations, and the frequent cauſe of their deſtruction, they have yet to learn what is ſolid and permanent wealth, and in what their true glory and grandeur conſiſts.

In the acquiſition of riches and power, the Portugueſe, like all other nations whom hiſtory has recorded, forgot that the means by which wealth and dominion are obtained, muſt be exerted for their preſervation. They grow wanton with ſucceſs and intoxicated with affluence. They ruled over the wretched natives with a ſeverity, which, too often, degenerated into the moſt inhuman cruelty; they proſtituted the ſacred name of religion, to the baſeſt and moſt unworthy purpoſes; eſtabliſhed inquiſitions to puniſh, where they had no right to uſe more than the mild inſtruments of conviction; and plundered the unhappy victims of their avarice, under the pretence of rendering honour to that God, whoſe laws they ſacrilegiouſly violated. Bigotry, which riſes in proportion to the dereliction

dereliction of principle, made them firſt contemptible, and then criminal.

As they grew more completely vicious, they alſo became ſunk in effeminacy. They ſtored their ſeraglios, like the princes of the eaſt; and when ſatiated with enjoyment, forced the victims of their inordinate paſſions to betake themſelves to the moſt ſlaviſh employments, and to yield to their cruel maſters the produce of their labours. They copied all the exceſſes of the people they had ſubdued; indulging themſelves in the Aſiatic pleaſures of ſinging and dancing girls, the only part of the natives which they did not involve in indiſcriminate oppreſſion; they learned to recline on ſofas, and to be carried in palanquins; and at laſt carried on war in that luxurious and diſſipated manner which had enabled themſelves to ſubdue the aboriginal inhabitants.

The natural conſequence of ſuch depravity was, the contempt of the nations among whom they had eſtabliſhed themſelves: at firſt they were the objects of terror; at laſt they became the butts of ridicule. The natives, deprived of luxurious indulgencies, began to recover their natural energies, and they meditated to expel the invaders. Riſing in revolution, as the Portugueſe ſunk in effeminacy, they actually attacked one of their principal ſettlements; but by the vigorous conduct of Don Juan de Caſtro, who had now ſucceeded to the chief command of the Portugueſe forces in India, they were repulſed; and the dying embers of European ſpirit ſeemed, for a time, to revive, and to diſpel the enervating fumes of Aſian luxury.

But this gleam was of ſhort duration; the gloom returned with deeper ſhades; for no ſooner

ſooner was the ſtorm blown over, than they relapſed into the ſame inglorious and inactive ſtate, from which they were only rouſed, when the calls of an inſatiable avarice prompted them to the commiſſion of every crime, diſgraceful to human nature.

Nor did they confine theſe depredations to the natives. Though theſe undoubtedly were the greateſt ſufferers, becauſe the leaſt capable of protecting themſelves, the intoxicated Portugueſe at laſt preyed on each other, the ſtrong on the weak; and the ſame brutal luſt of wealth, which ſtimulated them to torment and murder the inoffenſive Indians, tempted them to lay violent hands on each other. The vices of individuals corrupted the ſtate; crimes of the blackeſt dye tinctured the reſolutions of cabinets, and the conduct of commanders; and the ſucceſſors to power began the firſt practice of their authority on their immediate predeceſſors, in order to extort from them that wealth, which they had amaſſed by means nefarious indeed, but which their followers intended moſt religiouſly to copy.

While the manners of the Portugueſe were in this degenerate ſtate, the natives now united a ſecond time to extirpate their deteſted tyrants. The court of Liſbon, on this, diſpatched Ataida from Europe with ſuccours and unlimited power, who for a while repelled the attacks of the exaſperated natives. But though they failed in their attempt on Goa, which had been made the capital, they ſucceeded in depriving the Portugueſe of many of their leſs important poſſeſſions; and other nations of Europe, not yet ſo obnoxious to the inhabitants of Indoſtan, appearing on its coaſts, the firſt occupiers gradually loſt their conſequence;

ſequence; and many of their remaining ſettlements were wreſted from them by the Chriſtian powers.

The only remains of the mighty conqueſts of Portugal, in the eaſtern quarter of the globe, are Goa, where a viceroy ſtill reſides and keeps up the ſhadow of the ancient ſplendor of government, Macao, Diu, Daman, and Baſſaim. Theſe at preſent are very inſignificant places; and the advantages ariſing from them inconſiderable, in the great ſcale of trade, now carried on between the different parts of Europe and the empire of Indoſtan.

The Britiſh at this time are unrivalled lords of the continent; but with whom, in the tide of events, the power may next reſide, belongs only to Omniſcience to determine.

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THE VOYAGE

OF

FERDINAND MAGELLAN,

ROUND THE WORLD.

AMONG thoſe illuſtrious navigators who have ſhewn originality of conception and boldneſs of reſolution, Ferdinand Magellan will always retain a diſtinguiſhed place. Contemporary with Columbus and De Gama, he appears to have been animated with the ſame ſpirit, and to have deſerved to participate in the laurels they won.

He was a native of Portugal, born a gentleman, and bred a ſoldier. He had ſerved in the Indian as well as African wars with credit to himſelf, and honour to his king; being particularly employed in thoſe expeditions which ſucceeded De Gama's diſcovery, and which at length terminated in the reduction of Malacca, Goa, and Ormutz, under the dominion of Portugal.

Columbus went in ſearch of a paſſage which he never found, and found what he little expected. The paſſage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean was ſtill a deſideratum in navigation; and Vaſquez de Nunez de Balboa having diſcovered the laſt-mentioned ſea from the mountains of Panama, Magellan conceived the idea of the circumnavigation of the globe, which at that time was not generally allowed to be round.

This grand idea, as it may be juſtly called, when we conſider the age, he communicated to his court; but being ſlighted in that particular, and, as it is ſaid, denied the ſmall augmentation of half a ducat a month to his pay, he reſolved to quit Portugal, and ſeek his fortune in other countries.

The court of Spain had ſo much ſignalized itſelf by ſucceſs in diſcoveries, and the encouragement it gave to adventurers, that Magellan naturally turned his thoughts that way. Charles V. one of the moſt powerful princes that ever lived, and in whoſe extenſive dominions the ſun never ſet, at that time filled the throne of Spain. To him, therefore, this officer applied; and, to forward his views, did not fail to repreſent, that all the Banda and Molucca Iſlands muſt of right, according to the papal decree, belong to him; and theſe he propoſed to diſcover by a weſtern navigation.

This project, which had for its object the extenſion of dominion, as well as the returns of valuable commerce, was peculiarly acceptable to Charles. Without heſitation, he gave orders for making the neceſſary preparations, with as much expedition as circumſtances would allow. Nor did the emperor ſtop here: he conferred the order of St. Jago on Magellan and his companion, Ruy Falero, as a ſpur to this arduous undertaking.

The Portugueſe ambaſſador made ſtrong oppoſition to this ſcheme; nor were there wanting ſome courtiers, who envious of Magellan's honours, threw every impediment they could in the way of his expedition. He received and ſubmitted to many inſults on account of his country; and when all was juſt ready for the embarkation,

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is hopes had nearly been fruſtated of reaping he honour of the project, by Ruy Falero conteſt-ng with him the honour of bearing the royal andard. This matter being adjuſted, and his val perſuaded to remain at home on account of precarious ſtate of health, which was very un-qual to ſuch a diſtant and uncertain voyage, lagellan was inveſted with the ſole command of he ſquadron, and the buſineſs proceeded.

This ſquadron conſiſted of five ſhips: the St. ntonio bearing the admiral's flag; Juan de Car-agena, vice admiral; the St. Jago, commanded y Juan Roderiquez Serrano; and the Concep-ion, Gaſpar de Queſada maſter, and two others. heſe ſet ſail from Cadiz on the 10th of Auguſt 517, and arriving in ſafety at Teneriffe on the d of Auguſt, ſailed from thence for Rio Janei-a, on the coaſt of Braſil. After refreſhing at his place, and taking in ſuch neceſſaries as the oyage required, they purſued their courſe.

This courſe, however, was not univerſally greed on. Various diſputes aroſe about it; and ome were for adopting one plan, ſome another. he fleet being anchored in St. Julian's river on aſter-day, and maſs being ordered to be cele-rated on ſhore, the three Captains, Luys de Mendoſa, Gaſpar de Quezada, and Juan de Car-agena, abſented themſelves; a circumſtance which filled the admiral with inquietude, be-cauſe, from their diſobedience, as well as from ther previous ſymptoms, he had reaſon to ſuſ-pect that a ſpirit of diſcontent pervaded the ma-jority of his fleet. Thus, like Columbus, his dif-ficulties began at an early period: becauſe where no one know the courſe with certainty, each ar-rogated to himſelf as much right to judge of it as another.

In this dilemma, to return with diſgrace, was what Magellan could not brook; to proceed was to encounter a variety of hardſhips, at the ſame time that he had every thing to apprehend from his own people. While contemplating his ſituation, and before he could come to any preciſe reſolution, the weather began to grow ſevere, and the murmurs to increaſe, and a conſpiracy of the three captains being ſtrongly ſuſpected, the admiral was induced to call his own ſhip's crew to arms. In the meantime, as Mendoſa was reading a letter which he had received from the admiral, he was ſtabbed to the heart. At that inſtant a boat was manned with about thirty of the admiral's firmeſt friends, who, boarding the other ſhips, took forty priſoners, who were ſuppoſed to be deepeſt in the conſpiracy. Quezada alone was ſentenced to be executed, and the body of Mendoſa was quartered. Thus the oppoſition was allayed for the time by this act of ſeverity; and proper meaſures were concerted for the fleet to proceed, as ſoon as the ſeaſon was favourable.

In the interim, Serrano was diſpatched to examine the American coaſt, along which they were to ſail, in order to make the wiſhed-for diſcovery.

If we may give credit to the Spaniſh accounts of this voyage, while they were thus detained on the Braſilian coaſt, they ſaw men of a gigantic ſtature, whoſe voices, when enraged, reſembled bulls. One of theſe came on board, whoſe face was as frightful as his voice was terrific; and ſuch was his height, that an ordinary ſized Spaniard could only reach to his waiſt. We conſider this, however, as the embelliſhment of romance; and are ſorry to ſay, that this voyage, in general, bears marks of a partiality for the marvellous.

That a race above the common ſize exiſts on this

this coaſt, we ſhall ſee confirmed by future voyagers, whoſe authenticity we cannot diſpute; but with all this exaggeration, it ſeems the ſavage was peaceable in his deportment, and thankful for ſuch trifling preſents as he received, till the Spaniards endeavoured to put ſhackles on his legs to ſecure him; and if he then roared out like a bull, we need not wonder, ſince the provocation and the danger were ſufficient to make him exert every faculty both of body and mind.

He was dreſſed in the ſkins of ſome ſtrange wild beaſt; and we learn, that the people, in general, on this coaſt, were habited in a ſimilar manner. They are deſcribed as ignorant and ſuperſtitious, believing that their country is haunted by evil ſpirits, of whoſe influence they are much afraid. Their weapons were bows and arrows. Their huts were conſtructed with ſkins, and portable from place to place. They devoured their meat with the voraciouſneſs of cannibals, without ſeeming to know any modes of previous dreſſing it. They uſed a root, called Caper, inſtead of bread, and drank vaſt quantities of water with their meals.

The only religious ideas they ſeemed to poſſeſs, centred in the belief of two beings, one of whom they termed Sebetos, who ſeemed to be ſuperior; and the other, whom they denominated Chelcule, a ſubordinate kind of deity. In this barren country, ſince called Patagonia, they ſet up a croſs, and took poſſeſſion with the uſual ſolemnities.

Serrano, who, as has been mentioned before, was diſpatched on an expedition to reconnoitre the coaſt, diſcovered a river about a league broad, at the entrance, to which he gave the name of Saint Clare. He ſpent ſix days in examining it,

and fiſhing for ſeals; and was afterwards expoſed to a violent ſtorm, which daſhed his veſſel on the ſhore. The crew was ſaved from the fury of the elements, only to ſuffer the extremities of famine on a barren coaſt. In this miſerable ſituation, two of the people were fortunate enough to convey intelligence to the admiral, who diſpatched a veſſel to their aſſiſtance, and thus ſaved them from inevitable death.

At laſt, Magellan left the port of St. Julian, where he had ſtaid ſo long with little ſatisfaction, on the 24th of Auguſt, ſetting Juan de Cartagena on ſhore, together with Pedro Sanchez Revora, the prieſt, for being principals in the conſpiracy. This puniſhment was worſe than a thouſand deaths, as it tantalized them with life, while they were denied all its enjoyments, and even its neceſſaries. They were left, indeed, with a ſtock of proviſions, but were never heard of more.

About the end of October, the fleet reached a promontory which Magellan named Cape Virgin, and, perceiving an inlet, ſent to explore the coaſt. On receiving the different reports of the perſons deputed on this expedition, a council of the chief officers and pilots was called, in which Eſtevan Gomez, pilot of the Antonio, declared for returning home, and was followed by all the members, the admiral only excepted, who, with a reſolution bordering on madneſs, declared, that in ſpite of tempeſt and famine, he was reſolved to perſevere. The Antonio being afterwards ſent to explore a nearer paſſage than any which they had yet a reaſon to expect; the above pilot, together with the purſer, having ſtabbed the maſter, carried the ſhip home; and the admiral, having in vain endeavoured to come up with her,

her, proceeded on his uncertain voyage. At length he fell in with the paſſage he had been ſo long in ſearch of, in latitude 52 deg. ſouth, and entered thoſe ſtraights which will make his name immortal. In a tranſport of joy, he named the point of land, from which he had this agreeable proſpect, Port Deſire. Much was now accompliſhed, but much remained to be done. It required all his caution and ſkill to ſail through this new-diſcovered paſſage, and before they could enter the great South Sea, which was on the 28th of December, one year, four months, and eighteen days had elapſed, ſince their departure for Spain.

On this wide, and almoſt boundleſs, ocean, they wandered between three and four months without ſeeing land, except two deſert iſlands. Their diſtreſſes were ſo great, that they were reduced to the miſerable expedient of eating the hides that covered the ſhips' rigging, which they ſteeped in ſalt water, in order to render them more eaſy of maſtication. To this deplorable ſtate of famine, it is not to be wondered at, that ſickneſs ſhould ſucceed; and thoſe who were not abſolutely diſabled by illneſs, found themſelves incapable of ſubſiſting on theſe hard viands, by the gums covering their teeth, by which ſome were ſtarved to death. It was providential for the reſt, who ſtill were obliged to attend to the duty of the ſhip, that they were ſailing on a placid ſea, impelled by gentle breezes, from whence it was denominated the Pacific Ocean.

On the 6th of March they fell in with a cluſter of iſlands, named the Ladrones, or Iſles of Thieves. Here they landed full of hope; but found the inhabitants exiſting in the moſt ſavage and uncivilized ſtate, without any appearance of

moral order or ſocial contract among them. The men were entirely naked, of an olive complexion, with long hair depending to their waiſts. The women were more decent in their appearance, having a partial covering of palm-tree leaves, and appeared to be very induſtrious. But while theſe were buſied in domeſtic concerns, their huſbands employed themſelves in thieving abroad, and ſoon became ſo troubleſome to their new gueſts, that the Spaniards, after threats, firing upon them, and burning ſome of their huts, to deter them from theſe practices, but all in vain, departed from thence and landed at Zamul, about thirty leagues diſtant. Here it ſhould be remarked, that though theſe people ſeemed ſo incurably addicted to theft, it probably did not ariſe from any innate depravity; but from their imperfect notions of their ſacred right of private property. When all things are in common, whatever pleaſes the fancy is taken without any ſenſe of wrong. The inhabitants of the Ladrones, ſeeing what gratified them, perhaps, had no conception that they ſhould be debarred from being gratified with what they ſaw.

Leaving Zamul, they ſoon came to Humuna, a pleaſant iſland, and inhabited by a humane people, ready to accommodate the viſitors with whatever refreſhments the place ſupplied. Here they recruited their exhauſted ſtrength, and then paſſing between ſeveral more iſlands, touched at Buthuan, where they were honourably entertained by the king. The natives, though certainly unacquainted with Chriſtian forms, were obſerved, or ſuppoſed, by Magellan, to make the ſign of the croſs at their meals. The king's palace had no more external marks of grandeur than a hay loft, being raiſed upon ſuch high poſts, that it

it could not be entered without a ladder. Theſe iſlanders regarded their gueſts with particular admiration, and even treated them as ſuperiors in the ſcale of being. The ſoil was ſo rich, that pieces of gold, of the ſize of hazel-nuts, and ſome much larger, were ſifted from the common mould of the country.

The king was a comely man, of an olive complexion. He was clothed in cotton; wore a dagger, with a gold haft, by his ſide; and was decorated with a profuſion of gold rings. Magellan preſented his majeſty with various coloured cloth, and diſtributed glaſſes, knives, and chryſtal beads among his attendants. It is related, that one of the iſlanders offered a Spaniard a crown of gold and a collar for ſix threads of chryſtal beads, but that the admiral would not permit ſuch an unequal traffic to be carried on. If this is true, it evinces a moderation, which few of the Spaniards were inclined to imitate in their diſtant expeditions. The natives were a very lively people, and appeared to have no other religious rites among them, than a certain ceremony, which they practiſed, of lifting up their hands and eyes towards heaven, and calling on their god Abba. We are farther told, that they ſuffered their gueſts to erect a croſs and a crown of thorns; but to this they were induced by a pious fraud of Magellan's, who perſuaded them, that this croſs would protect them from the dangers of lightning and tempeſt, to which this climate is very ſubject.

After ſailing among ſeveral iſlands, moſt of which afforded fruits, goats, and poultry, which ſupplies proved extremely beneficial to the mariners, the fleet arrived at Zubut on the 7th of April. Here they fired a ſalute on entering the harbour

harbour, which at firſt threw the inhabitants into great conſternation: but on the nature of the compliment being explained, they were ſpeedily reconciled to their gueſts. The king, however, thought fit to demand tribute for touching on his coaſts; but this Magellan flatly refuſed to pay. And his majeſty having been told that theſe ſtrangers were Portugueſe, whoſe countrymen had ſtormed Calicut, and were renowned for their military achievments in India, judged it adviſable to deſiſt from his pretenſions; and to ſtudy to render himſelf as agreeable as he could. Magellan, we are gravely told, had influence enough to prevail on this prince, his brother, and the queen to receive the rite of ſpiritual ablution; and that a total abolition of idolatry took place throughout his dominions in the ſhort ſpace of eight days. That the prince or his people might be brought to the uſe of external forms, is not very improbable; but that they could be converted to Chriſtianity was impoſſible. They could neither underſtand the language of Magellan, nor could he underſtand theirs: principles they could acquire none, without this medium of communication; but it is much to be feared, that, in former times, and perhaps now, rites are miſtaken for eſſentials; and baptiſm, which is only the initiatory ceremony, is, by a figure of language, taken for religion itſelf.

After ſurmounting as many dangers as man could undergo; after ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of his wiſhes, and eſtabliſhing his character for diſcernment and active ſkill to remoteſt ages, the time was now approaching, that Magellan was to meet his fate. Leaving Zubut, he proceeded to the Iſle of Mathan. This was under the government

vernment of two kings, from whom the Spaniards demanded an acknowledgment of tribute. This being juſtly refuſed, an open rupture enſued; and the admiral, with only ſixty Spaniards, gave battle to the natives, whoſe numbers have been calculated to amount to ſix thouſand. After a long and ſharp conflict, in which the loſs on the ſide of the Indians was much leſs than might have been expected, and on both not very conſiderable; Magellan being too far advanced, was wounded with a poiſoned arrow, and pierced in the head with a lance, which terminated his life and exploits. Even his body was never recovered.

Some have maintained that he was diſpatched by his own men, to whom his ſtrict diſcipline had rendered him odious and intolerable. In former periods of the voyage, this might have been the caſe; but now having reached a land of plenty, and ſurmounted their principal difficulties, it can ſcarcely be believed, that the Spaniards would riſk their own ſafety by violating his. Indeed, the moſt authentic accounts of this unfortunate tranſaction ſay, that his men were much diſconcerted at his loſs.

Though Magellan had not the honour of being the firſt circumnavigator of the globe, as he was cut off before the completion of his voyage, yet he ſhewed the practicability of the ſcheme; and thoſe who followed him had no more claims to original diſcovery than the followers of Columbus; they, indeed, went farther; but they knew the track in which they were to go.

It is probable, however, that Magellan had very little idea of meeting with the ſtraight that bears his name. His original thought was to coaſt along to the ſouthward, as the land trend-

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ed, and by perſeverance, he perſuaded himſelf, that a boundary would be found to the new continent as well as the old. By doubling the Cape of Good Hope, a paſſage was found into the Indian ſeas; and Magellan did not ſeem to doubt, but ſome other promontory exiſted, which would open a way to the Pacific Ocean. Thus original minds, by combination and reflection, may ſtrike out plans, which, though clear to them, could never have been conceived by ordinary capacities, nor executed but by the firſt projectors.

But to return. After the death of Magellan, a company of his followers being invited to an entertainment on ſhore, were treacherouſly murdered; and only Don Juan Serrano, of all who landed, was reſerved alive, in order to procure a large ſupply of fire arms and ammunition by way of ranſom. But thoſe who remained on board, fearful of being trepanned, would have no farther intercourſe with this perfidious people, and ſailed away, leaving the unfortunate Serrano to their mercy.

The company on board, which amounted to eighty men, held on their courſe towards the Moluccas, of which Magellan had received ſome intelligence before his cataſtrophe. At Behol they burned the ſhip Conception, and diſtributed the hands in the other two. From thence they proceeded to Paviloghan and Chippit, where there was gold, with plenty of goats, fruits, and ſpices. The natives treated them in a very amicable manner; and the prince ſtained his body with blood, as a ſymbol of the covenant of peace.

After touching at Caghinan and Puloan, they arrived at Borneo, after weathering a tempeſt. They found the iſland very populous. The king was a Moor, and obſerved great ſtate. His capital

pital contained twenty-five thouſand houſes. Camphor, cinnamon, oranges, and lemons were the principal productions of the country. While they lay here, they were attacked by an Indian fleet which they defeated, taking an Indian prince priſoner, who, through negligence or deſign, was permitted to eſcape.

Paſſing ſome other iſlands, they ſteered for the Moluccas; and, after ſuſtaining another ſtorm, reached Tiridore, the chief of theſe iſlands, on the 8th of November. Thus one object of the voyage was accompliſhed, to ſail to the Moluccas by the weſt. They found theſe iſlands to be five in number, abounding in oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and rich ſpices. The inhabitants were Moors and Pagans; the latter of which, among other abſurdities, were ſaid to worſhip the firſt object they met in the morning; though, in point of ſuperſtition, the Mahometans, in general, exceeded them.

Having opened a warehouſe, an advantageous trade commenced with the natives. Cloth, glaſs, and quickſilver found a ready exchange for cloves and other valuable productions of thoſe iſlands. Proviſions were abundant and good, of which the Spaniards laid in a competent ſupply. At their departure, they were honoured by the attendance of the kings of ſeveral of the Moluccas, as far as Mare, where they took an affectionate leave.

The company was now reduced to forty-ſix Spaniards and thirteen Indians. In their courſe they touched at Timor, where ginger and white ſander wood abounded, as well as neceſſary proviſions.

From hence they intended to ſhape their courſe for the Cape of Good Hope, but after long waiting for a favourable wind, they ran down to latitude

titude 42 deg. ſouth. Avoiding Moſambique, from an apprehenſion of meeting with the Portugueſe, theſe adventurers were reduced to the laſt diſtreſs for proviſions. In this ſituation they reached the Cape de Verd Iſlands, where, notwithſtanding they had cauſe for fear, ſuch was their preſſing want, that they choſe rather to riſk being detained than to periſh with famine. At firſt they were ſupplied with proviſions; but, on landing again, thirteen of the crew were ſeized and made priſoners. The reſt, fearful of the ſame fate, and unable to contend, ſet ſail without them. Favourable gales attended their progreſs, and, on the 7th of September, they arrived in ſafety at the port of St. Lucar, under the conduct of John Sebaſtian Camo, after circumnavigating the globe in three years and thirty-ſeven days. Of the whole ſquadron, only one ſhip had the good fortune to return to Spain, and of two hundred and thirty four officers and ſeamen, the complement at ſetting out, only thirteen Spaniards ſurvived to viſit their native land.

Don Sebaſtian Camo was received with very extraordinary honour by the Emperor Charles V. who, to diſtinguiſh him and his poſterity for ever, aſſigned him the terreſtrial globe for his arms, with the motto PRIMUS ME CIRCUMDEDISTI, *You have firſt ſurrounded me.* He, likewiſe, came in for many liberal rewards, which, had Magellan lived, would have been peculiarly his due.

END OF VOLUME I.

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